DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 365 093 FL 021 558

AUTHOR	Moore, Sarah Jane, Ed.; Morfit, Christine, Ed.
TITLE	Language and International Studies: A Richard Lambert Perspective.
INSTITUTION	Johns Hopkins Univ., Washington, DC. National Foreign Language Center.
REPORT NO	ISBN-1-880671-02-6
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	393p.
AVAILABLE FROM	NFLC, Johns Hopkins University, 1619 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20036.
PUB TYPE	Books (010)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC16 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Area Studies; Cross Cultural Studies; Distance Education; Educational Finance; *Educational Needs; Financial Support; Foreign Countries; Foreign Students; Higher Education; *International Educational Exchange; *International Studies; International Trade; Language Maintenance; *Language Planning; Language Proficiency; *Language Role; Public Policy; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Social Sciences; Uncommonly Taught Languages; Undergraduate Study
IDENTIFIERS	India; Netherlands; Southeast Asian Languages

ABSTRACT

Selected writings by Richard Lambert on languages and international studies include the following: "Foreign Language Planning in the United States"; "Southeast Asian Language Instruction"; "Implications of the New Dutch National Action Plan for American Foreign Language Policy"; "Distance Education and Foreign Languages"; "A National Plan for a Use-Oriented Foreign Language System"; "Language Policy: An International Perspective"; "Language Instruction for Undergraduates in American Higher Education"; "The National Foreign Language System"; "The Case for a National Foreign Language Center: An Editorial"; "Problem Areas in the Study of Language Attrition"; "Foreign Language Competency"; "Foreign Language Instruction: A National Agenda"; "Surveys of Language-Skill Needs in the United States"; "Language Learning and Language Utilization"; "International Education and International Competency in the United States"; "Foreign Student Flows and the Internationalization of Higher Education"; "DoD, Social Science, and International Studies"; "International Studies and the Undergraduate"; "The Challenge of Internationalization and the Response"; "Foreign Language Use Among International Business Graduates"; "Beyond Growth: Conclusions"; "International Studies: An Overview and Agenda"; "Language and Area Studies Review: Conclusions and Recommendations"; "Patterns of Funding Language and Area Studies"; "Some Minor Pathologies in the American Presence in India"; "An American Education for Students from India"; and "Indian Students and the United States: Cross-Cultural Images." (MSE)

ED 365 093

LANGUAGE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES:

A Richard Lambert Perspective

Sarah Jane Moore and
Christine A. Morfit
Editors

National Foreign Language Center
Monograph Series

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Lambert, Richard D.
Language and international studies : a Richard Lambert perspective / Sarah Jane Moore and Christine A. Morfit, editors.
p. cm. — (Monograph series / National Foreign Language Center)
Collection of previously published material.
ISBN 1-880671-02-6
1. Language and languages—Study and teaching (Higher)—United States. 2. Area studies—United States. 3. Language policy—United States. I. Moore, Sarah J. II. Morfit, Christine A., 1943- . III. Title. IV. Series: Monograph series (Johns Hopkins University. National Foreign Language Center)
P57.U7L292 1993
407'.1'1—dc20 93-27452
CIP

For more information, please write:
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Fourth Floor
Washington, DC 20036

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Foreword

At one time in the not too distant past, Richard D. Lambert's approach to the study of foreign languages in the United States was almost uniquely his own; today the concerns he has so persistently voiced are being addressed by an ever-increasing number of language educators and policymakers. Perhaps the key to his contribution has always been the unremitting effort to question the mission of foreign language study as defined by its practitioners and to place this mission within a broader national perspective. Nothing more clearly demonstrates this effort than his view that foreign language study should ideally be driven by the twin goals of specifying national needs for language competency and creating a national capacity to meet these needs. From this has followed his concern for determining the nation's need for occupational language use, including but certainly not restricted to language and area studies within the academic community, and his concern for creating a new organizational structure that would enable America to be responsive to the demands for real-life language use that are vital to the national interest.

The sweeping scope of his vision has necessarily portrayed the education community, where both he and most foreign language educators reside, as only one segment among others contributing to national capacity. This broader perspective seems often to have confounded members of the education community who perceived as marginal to their mission of improving language instruction such concerns as occupational language use; national metrics for language assessment; assessment of the effectiveness of instructional programs; federal language training; proprietary language schools; language study abroad; the less commonly taught languages; the attrition, refurbishing, and maintenance of language skills; distance learning; undergraduate language enrollment attrition rates; the language policies of other countries; and language policy planning in the United States. Yet today we are witnessing the move of these traditionally "marginal" concerns not only into the educational mainstream, but into the national consciousness.

In the fashion of a social scientist, a sociologist, and an empiricist, Richard Lambert's mode of calling attention to such issues has focused on systematic description of the structure of the foreign language system and on data collection and analysis, from the deeply held conviction that scholars, specialists, and policymakers who reside outside language study per se have for far too long not been invited to contribute to the language study enterprise. He has repeatedly noted that the goals of foreign language education are thwarted not by the lack of skills or efforts on the part of individual language educators, but rather by the way foreign language study is organized as a system; hence his constant calls to study the manner in which other countries design their language delivery systems. Following this line of thinking, he has attempted to make the case that the collection and analysis of data on how we organize language instruction in the United

States are at least as important as research on the language learning and teaching process from a pedagogical perspective. Finally, from these two perspectives comes the third: the more we see foreign language study as a complex organizational system grappling with national needs and national capacity, the wider the range of expertise that should be brought to bear on this system.

The same pioneering characteristics are evident in Richard Lambert's perspective on international studies. Notable in all of his works is the insistence that any conclusions or recommendations be based on a close examination of the actual situation. The hallmark of his work is the hard foundation in empirical, aggregate data. This perspective is illustrated in his use of data to create a fresh picture of the architecture of various academic enterprises and a recharacterization of old phenomena, and in his analyses, which examine the fundamental purposes of an enterprise and develop ways to measure the extent to which current practices meet these purposes. From there he proceeds to suggest and recommend fresh ways in which the enterprise can fruitfully profit from the analysis. It is the careful analysis closely coupled with policy recommendations drawn from the data that has made his work in international studies stand out.

In addition, Richard Lambert is one of the very few scholars whose work has been of value to all of the subdivisions of international studies: foreign languages, area studies, international exchanges, international relations, and comparative studies.

A. Ronald Walton

Deputy Director
National Foreign Language Center

Preface

What follows is a sample of the writings of Richard D. Lambert on language and international studies. They are a sample in that they are limited to a selection of his articles on those two topics alone. A fuller view of his publications on these topics is available from an examination of his books and monographs.

This work includes two comprehensive reviews of language and area studies in the United States, one carried out in 1973 and the other in 1984. In another monograph he reported on an innovative attempt to measure the supply of and the demand for specialists with varying levels of concentration and expertise on South Asia. He also directed a large-scale survey of various aspects of campus-based international studies, including detailed analyses of program offerings as reflected in catalogues and survey questionnaires, and student participation as reflected in an analysis of transcripts of a graduating cohort. At the invitation of a number of national education organizations and private foundations, he published a monograph detailing the rationale for the creation of a national foundation to channel federal support for international studies. In an earlier work, written with Marvin Bressler, he summarized the experiences of Indian students enrolled in American educational institutions.

Most of the large-scale survey work was commissioned by national organizations. For instance, the first comprehensive review of language and area studies was commissioned by the Social Science Research Council, and the second one by the Association of American Universities. The major national survey of undergraduate international studies was commissioned by the American Council on Education. The monograph making the case for a foundation for international studies was jointly commissioned by the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies.

One of Richard Lambert's major contributions to the field was to serve as a convener and editor of a number of symposia on key aspects of international studies. Topics included the needs of South Asia studies, current research on language skill attrition, the future needs of international education following the release of a presidential commission report, the role of foreign languages in the workplace, overseas attitudes toward Americans, and a cross-sectional picture of Americans abroad.

Richard Lambert's work on foreign languages and international studies comprises what was in effect a sideline branching off from his central academic career. Most of his early work dealt with the sociology of India and social and economic development more generally. His teaching during his forty years at the University of Pennsylvania was primarily concerned with these topics. A collection of his work in those areas would include his two important monographs on India, which were interlocking questionnaire surveys, the first describing the very different social organizations of five factories in Pune, India, as reflected in the organization of their labor forces, and the second analyzing the transformation of a local labor market as reflected in the occupational careers of workers. He also wrote a substantial number of articles dealing with such diverse topics as patterns of collective behavior in violent riots, the historical development of regional and religious conflict, urban-rural relationships, and labor relations in India more generally. He wrote, or edited, a number of books and articles on the developing world. With Bert F. Hoselitz he assembled and wrote the keynote articles for a UNESCO symposium on attitudes toward savings and wealth in various countries of Asia. Other articles included a consideration of city-planning imperatives in the developing world, and a comparison of patterns of ethnic relations in the United States with those in other countries.

Through this work a particular style of analysis emerged with growing clarity. Richard Lambert's early approach in his work on India was essentially that of a social historian, and it involved macro societal analyses. This was evident in his first fieldwork in India, where he spent two years (1949–51) assembling unpublished historical data and observing firsthand the Hindu-Muslim riots. This early work selected a topic that was largely neglected in the literature but had high leverage for general social analysis. It assembled substantial data and created a sociologically informed narrative that summarized and clarified the significance of a wide variety of disparate events. His later fieldwork in India turned to large-scale surveys that characterized key structural features derived from an aggregate analysis of questionnaire data. His two surveys of factory workers in India are in this genre. The first describes the organization of different styles of factories based on the social characteristics and occupational histories of some eight hundred employees. The numerical treatment of the aggregate data in that first study was essentially descriptive. The second study, analyzed with the assistance of Ralph B. Ginsberg, a mathematical sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania, took the same cohort of workers who had been surveyed some eight years earlier and traced their subsequent job careers. In addition, the applicant pool and hires in a substantial number of new factories were surveyed to characterize a labor market under conditions of a sudden and large expansion in the availability of factory employment. The analysis in these new studies was upgraded to utilize what were for that time fairly sophisticated multivariate statistical techniques.

Many of the features evident in Richard Lambert's scholarship on India were carried over into his work on international studies and foreign languages. In the beginning, his various local and national roles—his role first as a faculty member and then for fifteen years as director of the South Asia Regional Studies Department at the University of Pennsylvania; his role at the national level in Asian studies, culminating in his service as president of the Association for Asian Studies; his role as one of the leaders of the annual lobbying effort to maximize federal funding for language and area studies; and his service on a number of intra-academic and academic-government committees dealing with international studies—drew him into scholarly work in these fields. These roles acquired a research dimension that was to carry over his research experience and style first into area studies, then into international studies more generally, then into foreign languages.

His surveys of language and area studies inevitably involved an examination of the language portion of that enterprise. Personal experience in studying a wide variety of languages followed by an almost total loss of language competency in each one interested him in the process of language skill loss. He set about examining what was known about the problem, and discussed the findings and made recommendations for future research in a conference he convened at the University of Pennsylvania. Out of that conference grew a large-scale, multiyear research project, which he directed. That project attempted to measure actual language skill loss among graduates of overseas advanced language training centers in Cairo, Taipei, and Tokyo.

It was this combination of interest in international studies, and foreign languages, and national policy that caught the attention of a number of the major foundations. The Exxon Education Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts collectively contributed substantial funding to enable the creation of a National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University with Richard Lambert as its founding director. The core staff of the language attrition project formed the core membership of the new center. Much of the work on foreign languages contained in this volume was written during his six years as director of the center.

The first year at the center carried over the survey strand of Richard Lambert's research career and led to the production of national inventories of our country's capacity to teach Chinese, Japanese, and Russian and a survey of the actual use of language skills among graduates of three major international business training programs. In later years he turned more to the descriptive-cum-editorial style, writing a series of essays on changes needed in the structure of foreign language education, and organizing a series of national seminars on American and European national language policy.

The emergence and continuity of the strands of Richard Lambert's perspective are clear in the writings contained in this volume.

Sarah Jane Moore
Christine A. Morfit

Part I

Language

1

Foreign Language Planning in the United States

The unpreparedness of American society to deal with other countries in their own languages will be an increasing handicap as we move into the next century.* Even allowing for the patina of English currently used among elites in many parts of the world, our strong trend toward monolingualism will surely continue to hobble us as we expand our relationships in a world that not only has ceased to be bipolar but is becoming nonpolar. Our vital political and economic interests are drawing us to countries whose capacity to deal solely in English is very limited, and as we deepen our relationships with even old partners like Europe and Latin America and become internally more multilingual, the need for more and more Americans to deal firsthand in a variety of languages other than English can only increase.

Thus, our stake in expanding American competence in other languages is high. However, little concentrated attention is being paid to this issue. While other countries of the world, particularly those in Europe, are drawing up national plans to raise the foreign language competency of their citizens, language planning in the United States is very limited. Where it occurs at all, it tends to be dispersed through various levels of the educational system and to address one issue at a time.[1] The European countries—both individually, and collectively through such organizations as the Council of Europe and the European Community—are fully engaged in planning for the future in language education. We are not. Indeed, a substantial portion of the American foreign language community believes that foreign language planning is either an oxymoron or an odious heresy.

It is easy to understand the urgency of such foreign language planning in the context of the development of a transnational Europe. But even without an immediate stimulus like that facing the Europeans, our own foreign language system is in desperate need of just such attention. As will be noted, many aspects of that system are dysfunctional, defeating the efforts of even the most gifted language teacher or student to produce high levels of language competency. The culprit is not pedagogical shortcomings, but rather structural flaws—architectural disabilities of the system that result in too few Americans even approaching, let alone retaining, a level of language competency that will enable them to use a foreign language. Yet the diffuse goals and totally disaggregated decision making in our foreign language educational system make it difficult to develop collective policies that might better serve our national priorities. It is the absence of such a national policy discussion in the United States that is most striking.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, October 1992).

DE FACTO PUBLIC POLICY

The lack of national planning with respect to foreign languages in the United States is particularly striking in that planning for general educational change is currently at the forefront of public attention. It is curious that foreign language education has not been included in the educational reform movement currently under way in many other curricular areas. It played only a minor role in the deliberations and recommendations for educational reform issued by the National Governors' Association; it was not discussed at the Education Summit; it is not part of the agenda for America 2000; it is not central to the effort to develop national assessment standards or to create a system for certifying master teachers, or any of the other current national efforts to change the design and functioning of our educational system.

In view of the national attention now being given to educational reform, one would expect to find a rich discussion taking place with respect to foreign language policy, one paralleling and interrelated with those taking place concerning mathematics, science, geography, history, and even the arts. However, the discussions taking place with respect to other areas of the curriculum have not yet touched foreign language instruction. To use an expression of Ernest Boyer's, "Foreign language is not even on the national screen." And yet our foreign language system is in desperate need of just such attention. The number of Americans with enough foreign language competence actually to utilize the language as adults is disappointingly small. The overall organization of the language instructional system defeats the classroom efforts of even the most gifted teacher or student. And the lack of consensus on goals for foreign language teaching makes any reform difficult to achieve. If there ever were an area calling for fresh educational policy, foreign language is it.

This is not to suggest that there are no governmental efforts under way in the United States to change and improve the current foreign language system. At the federal level there are a number of funding programs dedicated either to supporting catalytic changes or to the long-term maintenance of aspects of the system—for instance, instruction in the non–Western European languages—that might otherwise not be adequately sustained. Moreover, several states, such as New York, California, Arizona, and South Carolina, have engaged in a major reexamination of their overall foreign language system policies. However, federal funding programs and state-level language policy initiatives are rarely based on a comprehensive plan, and they tend to concentrate on only a few aspects of the foreign language system: for instance, introducing non-Western language teaching into more schools, or raising requirements for the amount of foreign language study all high school students must undertake.

As a result of these piecemeal initiatives, the United States can be said to have a de facto public policy on foreign languages comprising the sum of the various individual governmental initiatives for change in the current system. In the case of the federal government, such initiatives are embodied in funding programs that underwrite catalytic projects. In contrast, state policy is not the sum of funding programs, but the sum of legislative and administrative fiats mandating structural changes in the school system. Indeed, one of the complaints about the introduction of new state foreign language policies is that they often require major changes in the current system without providing the increased funding necessary to carry those changes out.

Since education, including foreign language instruction, is one of the subjects reserved for state and local administration, the federal government's role in this domain is sharply circumscribed. It can play a largely exhortative role, calling for major structural changes, as it does now in its press for national assessment standards or for allowing parents to choose which school their children will attend. However, as noted above, foreign language education is not part of the discourse on such major structural changes. In the main, the federal government affects educational practice, including foreign language education, through the appropriation of targeted supplemental funding. Sometimes the provision of federal moneys can play a major role in the organization of education. For instance, the federal programs providing need-based fellowships and guaranteed loans for college students cover a major portion of the tuition costs for students at both public and private colleges and universities. In the case of foreign language education, however, federal support programs have operated at the margin, providing funds for a very limited segment of the enterprise and for limited purposes.

Since the overall operation of the language education system is not a responsibility of the federal government, such funding programs must be piecemeal and targeted at particular domains or changes that Congress wishes to address. Each of these funding programs is embodied in its own legislation and administering agency. The federal agencies that deal with education tend to be divided by educational level; that is, elementary and secondary education are the responsibility of one set of agencies, higher education another. There is no established mechanism—and few occasions—for considering what these segmental initiatives are intended to add up to in addressing the overall needs of foreign language education. Nor is there any mechanism for assessing retrospectively either what the actual operation of the individual grant programs turned out to be, or what collective effect they had in introducing change. Hence, each program stands on its own and has its own special trajectory.

State- and local-level governments, on the other hand, set policy for and support the main corpus of the language education system. There is, of course, a large segment of the enterprise located in private colleges and universities, and they generally set their own policies. However, to the extent that there is public policy, most of it takes place at the state and local level. Hence, it is at this level that major shifts in policy must be effected if the foreign language system as a whole is to change.

In this short paper I can deal in an illustrative fashion with only three of the major policy issues currently facing the American foreign language system: (1) the broadening of language choice; (2) system coverage and architecture; and (3) the assessment of results.[2] I will try to indicate the interplay between an issue, the political level at which the planning takes place, some general processes that seem evident as planning evolves, and the varying catalytic strategies exemplified by the different policy initiatives.

BROADENING THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGES

One of the major issues facing language policymakers in the United States, as elsewhere, is which languages should be offered and taken. This seemingly central policy issue is one that has received almost no direct attention. For one thing, in no part of the American foreign language system is decision making less deliberate and more dispersed than in the complement of languages offered and taken. In language choice, ours is a constrained free-market system. In theory, schools and teachers offer whatever languages they choose, and students opt to enroll or not to enroll in a particular language. The complement of school-learned language competencies is a product of that free-choice market. In fact, however, such choices are constrained by the dead hand of past decisions and by the nonfungibility of teacher competencies. Hence, student choices are in effect limited to Spanish, French, and German, which capture more than 95 percent of all enrollments at all levels.

It is not that there have been no swings over time in the relative importance of one or another language. Around the turn of the century Latin was the language with the highest enrollments. In subsequent decades there was a shift to German, then to French, and now to Spanish as the language with the highest number of students enrolled. Today German ranks third. The current ranking of languages is not entirely stable. While Spanish enrollments are increasing dramatically, German, French, and Italian remain stagnant. Japanese is rapidly gaining ground and has already overtaken Russian.

Language choice should be a policy issue, but it is not. To our knowledge no one has asked whether the current complement of languages offered and taken and the pool of adult skills that results are optimal for the United States. Nor is there even any systematic knowledge about why students take one or another language and what it would take to change the order of language enrollments.

A number of the European countries are facing the issue of language choice more directly. The Dutch, for instance, are choosing to concentrate almost all secondary school instruction on three languages: English, French, and German. All other languages are relegated to higher education or to specialized schools. Other countries are making similar decisions and have developed specific rationales for their choices. Choices in Europe are easier to make. There the most important criterion is the likelihood of actual use in communication within the European context. English is always chosen as a world language, followed by one or more of the European languages. The basis of our choices may well be different from that in Europe, but at least there should be a rational argument about what an American complement of languages offered should look like and what the relative scale of enrollments should be—or for that matter what the criteria used in making those decisions should be.

INTRODUCING THE LESS COMMONLY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

While we have not developed an overall rationale for the appropriate mix of languages that should be offered and taken, in recent years a number of governmental initiatives and funding programs have concentrated on one aspect of language choice: the extension of our capacity to teach one or more of the non–Western European languages. What follows is a short examination of this issue and the federal- and state-level programs that have been introduced to address it.[3]

NDEA/HEA Title VI

One of the most durable goals of the federal government over the past forty years has been to shift the complement of languages offered in our formal education system. The oldest federal funding program dealing specifically with foreign language instruction is the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), later the Higher Education Act (HEA), Title VI.[4] The stimulus for the passage of that act was what was perceived as a foreign language crisis. A major and seemingly threatening event had occurred abroad, one that we would at least have known about ahead of time if we had had a greater capacity to understand foreign languages. Stung by the surprise of the Russians' launching of Sputnik, Congress was convinced that if more Americans knew the Russian language—and, by extension, languages of other countries outside Western Europe—we might be spared such intelligence shocks in the future.

The initial goal of NDEA Title VI was quite narrow: to produce a small cadre of advanced-level specialists who would serve as a national reservoir of expertise and teach other Americans about non–Western European countries. Following this narrow goal, the initial federal investment was channeled into graduate-level education, distributing money to campuses, to encourage them to establish teaching centers focusing on one or another non-Western world area, and through those centers to graduate students, to encourage them to invest time in becoming specialists on those countries. Federal investment was at the margin, both in the fact that it concentrated on the graduate level while the bulk of the resources and personnel in the foreign language educational system is concentrated at the undergraduate and secondary school levels, and in the fact that the amount of money spent represented only a small fraction—over the years it has averaged about 10 percent—of the total costs of the programs being funded.

Over the years this relatively simple initial investment strategy followed one of the cardinal rules of federal funding programs: expand or die. In the first place, as is typical of many programs whose primary goal is linguistic, support of language development was combined with other international studies goals. From the outset, the development of linguistic competencies was tied to and later submerged by training in area studies—that is, the study of the social science and humanistic aspects of the countries where the language is spoken. Today, in those graduate-level language and area studies programs, only about 15 percent of the federal funds are spent on language instruction.

A wide variety of intervention styles was also added. In addition to funding for university-based centers and fellowships, NDEA Title VI adopted other investment strategies. Funds were provided for research and development—primarily the production of new teaching materials; overseas research by both faculty and students; summer school programs both here and abroad for students and teachers; overseas advanced language training centers; and national service centers to help in the development of language training more generally.

In addition to expanded investment strategies, more and more clienteles were added to the list of grantees. Over the years it became clear that the primary enrollees in foreign language instruction were students in the humanities and social sciences. Students concentrating in the natural sciences and in the applied and professional schools remained as monolingual as ever. Hence, receipt of federal funding in Title VI began to depend on the inclusion of one of these underrepresented groups. In particular, because of national concern about our future international competitiveness, there arose specific funding programs fostering language instruction for business majors. First, existing Title VI centers were required to establish links with their business schools; second, business students were to be given priority in awarding fellowships; third, a whole new set of awards was established to foster new business-oriented initiatives; and finally, a set of Centers for International Business Education were funded on nineteen university campuses, all of which were required to include language instruction in their curricula. It should be added that the representation of foreign language instruction in programs serving these new clienteles was extremely light. And even within the foreign language section of the program, a mix of client pressure and changed congressional intent broadened the coverage of Title VI beyond the non–Western European languages to include Spanish, French, and German, further diluting the initial intent of the legislation.

Title VI also illustrates another major dilemma in public policy formulation. To accomplish the catalytic goals of federal funding programs, a proactive rather than reactive investment is required—that is, directing funds to new areas and new clienteles to accomplish new purposes, rather than selecting the best from an applicant pool that basically represents the old constituency whose tendency is to do things the old way. The primary means of distributing funds under Title VI has been an annual or three-year open competition for grants. To the extent that there is a proactive role for the federal government, it is contained in the guidelines set for grant competitions and the ranking of proposals. The process of peer group review and the internal operating preferences of the administrative agencies can make the outcome somewhat different from the catalytic intent embodied in the original legislation.

The Secretary's Discretionary Fund

The expansionary imperative of Title VI was limited when it came to reside in a larger funding bill restricted to higher education. There were some attempts to extend the coverage to secondary schools by requiring the graduate-level centers to spend some of their funds on "outreach" to assist in the extension of language and area studies to that level. This was not enough. Believing that the secondary education system, like the university system, would broaden its language offerings only in response to a targeted federal investment, Congress attempted to broaden the language offerings at the high school and elementary school levels to include what were called "critical languages."

When repeated efforts to pass freestanding legislation failed, Congress included foreign languages as an allowable activity in a bill designed to improve the teaching of math and science at the elementary and secondary school levels. While a percentage of all Title II funds from the Education for Economic Security Act could be used for foreign language teacher training activities, it was the Secretary's Discretionary Fund for Critical Foreign Languages that provided money for model foreign language programs at the elementary and secondary levels. This short-lived program was discontinued when

Congress determined that Title II should be devoted exclusively to math and science education.

Five things are especially notable in this experiment. First, the mode of investment was again the open competition—sending out a notice that funds were available and selecting from among the best resulting applications. Second, the amount of money was marginal to the cost of the change, so that only small incremental changes were likely. Third, the proposed changes were aimed not at the margin, as in Title VI's original concern with graduate education, but at the mainstream—the secondary school level, where most of the existing language education takes place. Fourth, the government funded short-term innovations only, almost guaranteeing that changes would be written in sand, their effect disappearing as the small investment of external funds was withdrawn. And fifth, as Congress has moved to broaden the spectrum of foreign languages at the secondary and primary levels, it has also tried to reduce the number of languages covered. It may make sense to support less commonly taught languages like Twi, Oriya, or Quechua at the advanced graduate level. It makes less sense to do so at the high school level. Hence, the notion of "critical languages" was invented.

While the original intent of the bill was to focus on the languages most crucial to the nation's economic competitiveness, there was no consensus on what those languages were. During floor debate in the House of Representatives, one member of Congress noted that while Spanish might not need additional support, Arabic, Japanese, Russian, and Italian did, and those languages were critical to the nation's future. A second member noted, however, that Arabic and Russian were really not that important to the nation's economy, although Japanese and Chinese were. The legislation instructed the secretary of education to consult with the secretaries of defense, health and human services, and state and the director of the National Science Foundation to come up with a list of critical foreign languages. The result was a list of 156 different languages.

The Foreign Language Assistance Act

When foreign languages were removed from Title II of the Education for Economic Security Act, they were given their own program: the Foreign Language Assistance Act. Its mandate was to promote "improvement in the quantity and quality of foreign language education offered in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools." The issue of "critical languages" was revived, not in authorizing legislation but in legislation appropriating funds for the program. Priority for funding was to be given to programs in the less commonly taught languages, with Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian being cited as examples. When preliminary program regulations were issued, only these languages, plus Korean, were eligible for funding. Following protests from state education officials and representatives of multilanguage organizations, funding priority was given to the five languages, with an additional five—French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish—allowed if resources were unavailable in the first five.

What is most interesting about this legislation is the nature of the investment strategy. It follows the federal government's preference for recruiting other funds to its causes. It requires that grantees provide an even match of other moneys to whatever the federal government provides. However, except for the special linguistic focus and the concentration on secondary and primary education, the act is as nonproactive as it could be. Moreover, the decision making is essentially moved from the federal to the state and local levels. State agencies must apply for the money, and it is distributed as a block grant to a state on the basis of a population formula, although the federal government retains the right to reject a state application. The act continues the federal government's preference for open competitions and for model innovative programs, but it is the state that will make the choice. This is an interesting natural experiment in de facto policymaking in that it represents an extreme example of reactive investment strategies with funding dispersed to the state and local levels. It makes an interesting contrast to the initial intent of Title VI, which was supposed to be proactive and to retain decision making at the federal level.

Star Schools

In the next extension of congressional intent to broaden language choice, the legislation was aimed to extend instruction in foreign languages to clienteles who could not receive such instruction in the schools in which they were registered. Prominent in their minds were minority children enrolled in inner-city schools and students more generally in smaller rural schools that were unlikely to be able to afford programs to teach any foreign language, let alone non–Western European ones. To serve these clienteles, Congress provided funds to disperse such instruction through the use of distance learning technology. Under a program called the Star School system, very substantial federal funds were provided to a set of state consortia to give instruction primarily in Russian, Japanese, and Chinese—although Spanish, French, German, and Latin are also offered—by means of televised distance learning networks. Foreign language education was only one of the subjects taught in the Star School system. Indeed, its primary focus was math and science. But it is worth noting that as an investment strategy it again operated at the margin of the foreign language instructional system, teaching only one or two years of very few languages to a few thousand students scattered throughout the country. Moreover, the decision-making process was located in consortia somewhere in between the federal and the state level.

It is remarkable that so much federal funding and attention has been given to the broadening of foreign language choice. In addition to the legislation described above, there are other funding programs, both governmental and private, dedicated to the same purpose. For instance, the National Endowment for the Humanities has a new funding initiative with a primary objective of broadening language choice by sponsoring the study of non-Western languages via curricula with a specifically humanistic approach. The proposed National Education Security Act promises to fund instruction in even the least commonly taught languages. Even foreign governments and American philanthropic foundations have joined in this effort to broaden language choice. The Japanese government is about to establish a heavily funded center to further the teaching of Japanese in American high schools, and to bring to the United States a large number of Japanese "youths" to help provide such instruction. At the state level in recent years there have been a number of new legislative initiatives encouraging the expansion of instruction in less commonly taught languages, particularly Japanese. Foundation grants such as those of the Carnegie Corporation, the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, and the Ford Foundation have supported the extension of instruction in the less commonly taught languages into high schools. A recent Andrew W. Mellon Foundation grant provided approximately $350,000 to each of twenty-five colleges, primarily to improve their offerings in the less commonly taught languages.

Viewed as a whole, the concentration of so much of our de facto national planning on broadening language choice and on expanding instruction in the less commonly taught languages is surprising, since such instruction comprises so small a proportion of all foreign language enrollments. Moreover, almost no attention is paid directly to the broader question of how to arrive at a rational policy for language choice more generally. Nor do we seem to have a coherent policy even on broadening choice in the non-Western languages, nor has there been any systematic study of the cumulative effect of the various individual initiatives. Each effort seems to swim off on its own without any reference to what is being done elsewhere. Almost no attention has been paid to what has produced permanent change in language choice and what successful programs of instruction in the less commonly taught languages look like.

SYSTEM COVERAGE AND ARTICULATION

Some of the major policy issues in any foreign language system are how many and what kinds of people should spend how much time studying foreign languages, and how to put the various parts of the system together to integrate them into a cumulative whole. In the American system, priority has been given to these issues in descending order. Trying to expand the number of people who receive some foreign language training has been given the highest priority. Somewhat less attention has been paid to how much training they should receive, and even less to how to integrate language education into the various levels of the system.

Participation Rates

Although it is not usually described in this fashion, in recent years most of the attention and most of the foreign language advocacy rhetoric have been devoted to increasing the number of students who are enrolled in language classes. Currently, 38 percent of students take some foreign language courses while they are in high school. About two-thirds of those entering higher education have taken at least two years of language courses in high school, and about half of all students receive some foreign language training in college.

Attempts to raise that participation rate are generally tied to college or university admission or graduation standards for higher education. A national survey of higher education institutions in the United States found that in 1987, 22 percent of research universities, 13 percent of comprehensive universities, 11 percent of baccalaureate colleges, and only 1 percent of two-year colleges required prior study of a foreign language for admission.[5] As part of their requirements for graduation, 69 percent of four-year colleges and universities required some language training for some of their students. Requirements at the college level, however, are usually not binding on all students. Only 9 percent of research universities require all students to take a foreign language course before they graduate, and only 22 percent of four-year colleges. Requirements tend to be specific to the major subject in which the students' concentrations lie. For instance, 90 percent of humanities majors and 73 percent of social science majors will be required to take foreign language courses by the time they graduate, but only 50 percent of natural science majors, 22 percent of business majors, and 8 percent of engineering majors.

Exposure to foreign language study at the college or university level is therefore spotty. Even allowing for some students enrolling in foreign language courses independent of requirements—and many of them do—only 48 percent of all students enrolled in four-year institutions take any foreign language courses before they graduate.

Length of Training

In addition to the low proportion of students studying foreign language, the total amount of language study is typically low. Even where there are formal language requirements, the amount of study required can be quite small. One-third of the institutions with any language requirements at all insist on only one or two semesters of courses for the humanists, who tend to study languages more than students with other disciplinary foci. For the engineers, 60 percent of the requirements are for one year or less. I am aware of several institutions in which a one-year foreign language requirement can be met by taking one semester of one language and one semester of another.

The consequence of such minimal requirements is what can almost be called a natural law: in both high school and college, 50 percent of the students at each level drop out at the next level. The overall number of language courses college students actually take on the average is quite modest: 1.5 for all students, 2.0 for humanists, 0.8 for business students, and 0.3 for engineering students. It is difficult to imagine that such modest amounts of foreign language training can do more than introduce a student to a language.

Articulation of Levels

One hallmark of American education is that the various levels of the system march to their own drummers. In most disciplines there is an inherent sequencing of topics and subfields that makes students' accumulation of subject matter and their transition across levels relatively easy. However, the dispersed and highly idiosyncratic decision-making process in foreign language instruction and the relatively low degree of consensus on curricula and teaching styles make it inevitable that there will be problems of articulation. The most difficult transition point is between high school and college, where major intellectual and pedagogical differences divide the two levels of language instruction. In fact, it is a common experience for students having taken one or two years of language instruction in high school to be placed back in beginning classes in college. At the low end of the system, the goals and teaching styles of elementary school language instruction are currently the subject of very intense debate. Middle school language instruction floats unanchored somewhere in between. And the progress of the increasing number of students who work their way through these various levels is as yet uncharted. To the extent that there is any tradition stitching together the various levels of the language educational system, it is the textbooks, but they are numerous, subject to rapid obsolescence, and primarily aimed at specific educational levels.

In such a system of carefully partitioned layers, it is easy to lose sight of students' needs for consistent, cumulative skill acquisition. What is clearly needed is an individual-student-based system of tracking, setting sequenced goals and providing telescoped teaching materials that can overcome the discontinuities inherent in the current system.

Policy Initiatives

Attempts to require the exposure of more and more students to foreign language study has been one of the principal goals of the foreign language teaching community. In higher education it takes the form of continuing hand-to-hand combat in one department, school, or institution at a time. Increasing student exposure to foreign language instruction has only occasionally been the subject of planning by the federal government. For instance, Senator Paul Simon has in the past proposed financial inducements for both higher education institutions and secondary schools to increase foreign language enrollments.

The major governmental initiatives on this issue have been taken at the state level, in the form of either high school graduation requirements, particularly for college-bound students, as in the case of Georgia, or requirements for admission to state-supported institutions of higher education, as in California. Currently only New York and the District of Columbia require language study of all high school students, while eighteen other states have a foreign language requirement that applies to some students. Indeed, four states now have language requirements for elementary school. Almost all of these state-level requirements have been introduced within the last decade.

The results of these efforts have been positive, but marginal, in increasing the number and proportion of students who take foreign language courses. The proportion of all high school students enrolled in language classes went from 32 percent in 1985 to 38 percent in 1990. College-level enrollments increased by 18 percent between 1986 and 1990, but a substantial portion of that increase took place at the two-year-college level, where language instruction was being introduced for the first time.

To my knowledge, no one is addressing the issue of raising the amount of foreign language training that students who enroll in foreign language courses actually receive. The purpose of almost all of the policy initiatives is the single-minded goal of expanding the number who receive any exposure at all. One would think that at least as much policy attention would be given to the question of how much foreign language education is enough for particular kinds of learners. Indeed, at some point a choice will have to be made between putting more national resources into providing a little bit of language instruction to as many students as possible, and directing some of those resources to lengthening the period of study for some students so that they can acquire a meaningful level of competency. Such a policy discussion has not even begun.

Problems of articulation are now catching the attention of federal policymakers. Since federal education agencies tend to be stratified by level of education themselves—in particular, they tend to specialize in higher versus secondary and primary education—

it is difficult for individual agencies to span the different educational levels in addressing the issues of articulation. Similarly, state governments tend to regulate primary and secondary education closely and to step very lightly in dictating change in higher education. However, in the past few years several of the federal funding agencies—the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), the Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching (FIRST), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)—have formed a loose coalition to address problems of articulation. Their intervention strategy is reactive—that is, as in most federal programs, calling for grant applications for pilot demonstration projects. As in many such interventions, pilot projects make only limited contributions to changing the system as a whole. Only determined and long-term policy intervention by state governments and consortia of higher education institutions is likely to make any substantial impact on problems of articulation.

THE ASSESSMENT OF RESULTS

One of the most pressing needs of foreign language instruction in the United States is the development of consistent measures to assess student progress, to provide information that will facilitate the learning process, and to certify achievements and levels of competency at the end of each training level.

Foreign Language Testing

In Europe, foreign language testing is often the responsibility of a freestanding organization of the central government that sets and administers examinations and establishes standards for successful completion. In addition, there is usually an equivalent organization that develops curricula. One of the hallmarks of language instruction in many European countries is the overt link between uniform curricula and tests of student performance, both centrally administered. While there has been some concern about the backlash effect of uniform testing—that is, that classroom teaching may be bent toward achieving high ranking on the test—language tests themselves are not subject to major legitimacy battles as they are in the United States. Indeed, foreign language reform movements in Europe are largely about curriculum and pedagogical style, while in the United States the dominant reform movement has been centered on testing strategy. Moreover, the American testing movement is moving in a direction opposite to the situation found in the Netherlands and in much of Europe. We have been seeking to establish criteria for tests of language proficiency that are independent of curricular content and teaching style, although in recent years there has been some backing away from this ideology of isolation. One of the paradoxes of the American situation is that the movement to induce universal adoption of uniform proficiency standards is severely handicapped by the disaggregated nature of decision making in foreign language education. It is also curious that in other parts of American education, particularly in mathematics and the natural sciences, there are strong forces moving toward the kind of national testing procedures and standards found in Europe. In the United States, however, the foreign language profession is almost totally unconnected to such developments.

This is a propitious time to develop national assessment tools for foreign language learning. There is currently widespread acceptance of the importance of standardized student outcome measures as a tool for monitoring and improving foreign language instruction. The past decade has seen the dissemination of a particular rating scheme and testing style, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages/Interagency Language Roundtable (ACTFL/ILR) scale and the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). The battle to achieve legitimacy for these techniques has been largely won. However, there is a growing debate about the appropriateness of this scale and associated testing style for school classrooms, drawn as the scale and tests are from governmental language schools that train adults in an intensive format for occupational use of the language. Moreover, the expansion in the number of learners to be tested has put considerable strain on a system developed to test a few learners at a time in an interactive format in a carefully controlled learning environment. Experience in the widespread use of those tests has raised questions about their suitability for mass administration, the standardization of raters' judgment, and the proper use of test results. As a result, the field of language studies, including the sponsors of the ACTFL/ILR standards, is ready for a reconsideration of what the nature of a national assessment strategy for foreign languages should be.

There is a growing interest in increasing the variety of tests available for the very different purposes for which the tests are given. In addition to providing an overall assessment of the level of proficiency at the end of training, tests should provide feedback to improve both the student's learning and the quality of instruction. In addition, some tests should measure the learner's capacity to perform specific tasks or should provide a diagnosis of achievements and errors to help both students and teachers improve the learning process.

Policy Initiatives

The history of public policy with respect to language testing is a curious one. On the one hand, few of the federal funding programs have provided funds for the development of language tests. Yet the particular style of language testing that has gained widespread adoption in many parts of the educational system was originally developed for use in the federal government's foreign language schools—originally the Foreign Service Institute and later the Defense Department and other agencies, all gathered into an organization called the Federal Interagency Language Roundtable. On the academic side, one of the major teachers' associations, the ACTFL, collaborated with the federal agencies in adapting the government's scale for academic use. Out of this collaboration came a testing method, the OPI, and a set of rating criteria called the ACTFL/ILR standards. Subsequently, various parts of the federal government have urged that the academic community adopt this testing style and rating format. There was even a suggestion that the various governmental agencies formally notify universities that only students certified in terms of that test would be employed. Title VI itself never required the use of the OPI or the proficiency guidelines. What it called for was the use of "proficiency-based" assessments, intended by the authors of the legislation to mean "performance-based" or "competency-based" assessments, although legislators could hardly be expected to be privy to the rancorous debates within the field as to what these various terms mean. A number of the administrators of Title VI, however, did and still do consider the OPI procedures and the proficiency guidelines, drawn as they are from the experience of the governmental language schools, as the prototypes toward which academic language instruction should be moving. Nonetheless, the use of the term *proficiency* led to some misinterpretation of the legislation, and the wording of the act was later changed to reflect this fact.

Over the past decade the use of the OPI and the ACTFL/ILR standards has spread to a surprising extent among language programs throughout the country. Moreover, these tests and standards have begun to show up in state-level language policy. For instance, the state of Texas uses them to certify its language teachers, and the state of New York has used them to revamp the goals of its foreign language system. More recently, there has been a bit of a backlash as the suitability of this single testing strategy for meeting the varied needs of assessment is being questioned.

However, the case of the ACTFL/ILR guidelines represents an unusual form of governmental intervention in the American foreign language educational system. It is based neither on the project-funding model of most federal programs nor on the official-mandate model of most state interventions. Perhaps one reason for its success is that the use of the OPI test coincided with a movement among language teachers to shift to a more "communicative" approach with an emphasis on oral interaction, which the ACTFL/ILR standards purported to measure. As a natural case study in policy intervention strategies in the American foreign language educational settings, it is of great interest.

I have chosen to address here only a few major issues to illustrate the nature of American public policy formulation with respect to foreign languages. Many more topics could be discussed: teacher recruitment and training; occupationally oriented language teaching; distance learning; the role of high technology; adult language upgrading and reinforcement; foreign study; increasing the quality of instruction; maintaining a planning and implementation superstructure; and encouraging innovation and making it cumulative. These topics and others will be dealt with at length in the National Foreign Language Center's policy seminars. In all these areas, rationalized, central decision making is unusual. Ad hoc policymaking at the local or state level is much more common. It is time we decided how best to address foreign language educational issues in a more orderly fashion, keeping in mind the peculiarities and strengths of the American educational system.

NOTES

1. This contrast between European and American language planning is dramatized in Richard D. Lambert, *Implications of the New Dutch National Action Plan for American Foreign Language Policy,* NFLC Position Paper (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, June 1991).

2. For a general outline of the American system, see Richard D. Lambert, *The National Foreign Language System*, NFLC Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, June 1989).

3. For the detailed analysis of federal funding programs and state initiatives with respect to foreign language education, I am indebted to Jamie Draper.

4. For a history of this legislation, see Richard D. Lambert, *History and Future of HEA Title VI*, NFLC Position Paper (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, October 1991).

5. See Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989), pp. 62–63.

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Southeast Asian Language Instruction

In this article I want to comment upon the relationship between language instruction and Southeast Asian studies.* In doing so I want to discuss seven aspects: (1) status; (2) structure; (3) clienteles; (4) skill levels; (5) teacher training; (6) curricula and materials; and (7) testing and evaluation.

STATUS

One of the major intellectual and structural problems in American higher education in general is that foreign language teachers often feel intellectually separated from the rest of the campus. Except for those who have an expertise in the study of literature, foreign language teachers are often viewed by others on the campus as a service discipline—somewhat like statistics—training students in a skill and not part of the intellectual core of the institution. This feeling of separateness is also found in some of the area studies tribes. It is clearest in West European and Latin American studies at the one end of the continuum, less clear in Inner Asian studies where language instruction in large part is the field, of middling strength in East Asian and East European studies, and the separation is great again in Southeast Asian and parts of South Asian studies.

In addition to the enclaving of language training within area studies, the disciplinary base of Southeast Asian language teachers is often problematic. Their disciplinary training tends to be linguistics rather than literature, but formal linguists who dominate most departments see them as too applied to be full members of the profession, and they usually cannot make the traditional claim of language teachers to intellectual status through the study of literature. In addition, the heavy complement of non-professional native speaker teachers on the language teaching staff makes it clear why the language faculty often are accorded a status inferior to, for example, historians, anthropologists, and political scientists. I do not want to exaggerate the extent or the consequences of this status differential, but I have a message for area specialists: many language specialists in your programs do not feel that they are fully part of the area studies enterprise. They perceive that area specialists treat them as at best service people. Their research on how best to teach languages and their work in the preparation of pedagogical materials are not seen as part of the area studies research enterprise. In the area studies centers I find a feeling among some Southeast Asian language teachers that area specialists direct the programs, control the resources, and dominate the collective aspects of their centers as well as the field as a whole. For instance, I noted throughout the Wingspread meeting how rarely the language specialists participated in the discussions on research, and how in talking to area specialists about the field as a whole, language specialists used the term "you" rather than "we."

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* Reprinted from *Southeast Asian Studies in the Balance: Reflections from America*, ed. Charles Hirschman, Charles F. Keyes, and Karl Hutterer, with the assistance of G. Carter Bentley (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies, 1992), pp. 125–34.

In short, I believe that a frontal discussion of the role of language instruction and of the status of language teachers in area studies is long overdue.

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

The teaching of Southeast Asian languages in the United States is beset by a number of structural problems that require innovative solutions. First, from the national perspective, yours is a classic organizational problem of how to serve the needs of dispersed student clienteles with concentrated teaching resources, particularly when student demand is spread across a large number of languages and is limited and fluctuating. The current organizational structure of Southeast Asian studies is only partially suited to meeting that demand. The gathering of teaching resources in a few university centers that serve both to create and serve demand reflects our basic style of organizing higher education in the United States, a style reinforced by the rigid way in which Title VI is administered. If one looked at the problem with a fresh eye, it is not at all clear that this is the way we would organize instruction in the Southeast Asian languages in the United States. The problems with the current situation are threefold. First, even with the concentration of language teachers in a few institutions, the numbers of languages are so great and the number of students wanting to study them is so small that the operations of individual language programs are always fragile, often deficit operations that are marginalized in the university community and constantly fighting for survival. Come tenure time, the battle for permanence for individual teachers can be bloody. Moreover, the handful of teachers called on to teach multiple languages at multiple levels often carry teaching loads far greater than those of their area studies colleagues. Second, the limitations of the current organizational style lend an overwhelming importance to the SEASSI summer program as a way of righting the mismatch between the distribution of teachers and students by collecting both for a brief period of time in a single site. However, in spite of its importance to the field, SEASSI, since it is outside of the normal framework of single university–based funding and staffing, is a jerry-built miracle that must be reinvented each year.

I suspect that if we really put our minds to it, we might find a way to supplement our national system of instruction in Southeast Asian languages that might add to its effectiveness. For instance, there are various alternative ways to solve the problem of dispersed demand and centralized teaching resources. For instance, NASILP, the National Association of Self-Instructional Language Programs, provides an existing mechanism for promoting dispersed instruction based on centralized teaching resources. Second, while I am well aware of most language teachers' negative evaluation of the technology of teledistance language instruction, if that technology were made to work better it could be immensely useful in Southeast Asian language instruction. It is

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currently being used solely to serve substantial numbers of students assembled in a large number of dispersed high enrollment classroom settings. The structural needs in Southeast Asian languages suggest a very different pattern. Given the small number of learners and the individualized, sporadic, and geographically dispersed demand, a much more personalized, more highly interactive system can be developed that can correct some of the normal impersonality of distance learning. It is an unfortunate paradox that the very characteristics that make distance learning economically infeasible make it a useful solution to the major structural problem in the field: dispersed, episodic clienteles and centralized teaching resources. Since the short term economics of providing instruction in the less commonly taught languages are unfavorable, the development of such a system would require major federal investments up front. We as a nation have now invested tens of millions of dollars in teaching first-year German, Russian, or Japanese in hundreds of rural high schools. Surely a pilot project could be mounted in which the sophisticated learners of Southeast Asian languages would be taught using distance technology.

CLIENTELES

In addition to the problems arising from geography, understaffing, and dependence on semi-trained native speakers, Southeast Asian studies, more than any of the other area studies fields excepting Inner Asian studies, is almost exclusively focused on training graduate level, research-oriented area specialists. This research-focused graduate student clientele is the primary orientation of most of area studies, but it is especially striking in Southeast Asian studies.

While this limited clientele may be all that the existing language faculty can manage, other area studies groups have expanded their teaching to include several other clienteles. The time may now be appropriate for Southeast Asian language teachers to consider serving those clienteles as well. First, almost all of the other area studies groups are trying to reach a substantial number of undergraduates who either are majors specializing in the language or are taking the language as part of their general education. Southeast Asianists might consider whether steps should be taken to explore the possibility of extending language instruction to the undergraduate level, and perhaps eventually to the high school level. Since there is no reason why any American undergraduate should choose one language over another, why should some of them not take a Southeast Asian language?

Some of the reasons for extending Southeast Asian languages into the undergraduate curriculum are clear. There are obvious advantages of having a feeder system in place that would bring into your graduate programs students who have had some prior language training. They would not have to start their language study from scratch at the same time they are trying to master the other disciplines relating to their field, as most Southeast Asian studies students do now. Moreover, the political benefits of anchoring the fragile graduate level language teaching enterprise in a durable undergraduate teaching program, the way most other language groups do, could make a major contribution to the security of the field.

Second, you might want to consider non-academic clienteles. I realize that some programs, such as Michigan's, do provide training in several Southeast Asian languages for business students. However, the field as a whole might serve the needs of international business or adult professionals who require a language competence for their occupational use. Other area studies language communities are starting to do that; why not Southeast Asianists?

Third, I get the feeling that Southeast Asianists feel uncomfortable with and resist performing a function that now provides the mainstay of language enrollments in other area studies groups. I refer to the second generation ethnic communities who enroll in college language courses as a kind of Saturday school. On the one hand, it is understandable that professors with scarce teaching time to allocate should be reluctant to devote much of it to this purpose. On the other hand, providing such instruction is a useful function in today's multiethnic society, and as my South Asian colleagues are finding out, ethnics can provide a durable enrollment base when the interest of American students flags.

LEVELS AND ARTICULATION

One of the most startling aspects of foreign language instruction in general in the United States is that almost all of its resources are expended in providing instruction in first or second year courses. In the course of a number of studies of campus-based foreign language instruction in general, I discovered what I call the fifty-percent rule. Roughly half of the students in either high school or college take no foreign language courses whatsoever. Of those who do, half of those who take the first year courses drop out before taking a second year, and half of the second year students drop out before taking a third year, and so on. This "rule" works out with surprising regularity both nationally and in individual schools.

I do not know what the enrollment gradient is in Southeast Asian studies these days—we had such data back in the 1960s—or whether my fifty-percent rule holds true. I think it would be well, however, to collect some fresh data to see how many students stick with each of your languages long enough to master them. As a prior step, you, in collaboration with your area studies colleagues, should attempt to arrive at a general standard of how much language competency different kinds of students ideally should have. Without knowing the precise figures, I would suspect that current levels of language training are too low. The amount of language study that students get is necessarily a compromise between available time and disciplinary degree requirements, and this does not allow enough time for full mastery of one or more Southeast Asian languages. The fact that most students do not start their language training until they begin graduate studies, and then have to fit it into an overcrowded course load along with everything else they are studying, makes the problem even more difficult.

If, as I suspect, the total amount of language training taken by most students is barely minimal and the amount of "intensive" time that can be devoted to such study is small, it may be time for the field to consider more radical structural experimentation. For instance, perhaps greater emphasis could be given to concentrated summer language study, or to the expansion of intensive full year language programs preceding area studies. Or we might work out articulated combinations of language study in the United States and study in the country where the language is spoken.

As an interesting aside it might be noted that if my guess about the low average level of language training among area specialists is correct, then one of the curious incidental costs of limited language training is to make it difficult for the field to develop a substantial number of truly highly trained students who can do original research in either the classical or contemporary literatures.

TEACHER TRAINING

A casual inspection of the corps of language teachers in the Southeast Asian languages reveals a tiny band of permanently employed language specialists who are surrounded by a casual labor force comprising part-time, high turnover, frequently untrained native speakers. This situation is particularly marked in the SEASSI summer program and in the teaching of the "very low density"—to use a government term—languages.

One of the consequences of the heavy preponderance of these "Gastarbeiter" native speakers as language instructors is that a great deal of time must be expended both in SEASSI and in the field as a whole in constantly training and retraining so-called "informants." It also impedes the standardization and institutionalization of the Southeast Asian languages teaching profession. The cost of this imperfect system is borne both by the language professors who must constantly train and retrain native speaker assistants and by the students who try to learn a language from teachers who are based firmly in their own culture and language but have little experience in tailoring instruction to fit the learning styles of American students.

There is no other division of area studies with a greater need to create a more satisfactory system of teacher training and professionalization than Southeast Asian studies. SEASSI does do some of this training now, but its impact on what goes on in academic year programs is limited. There is some hope, however, that this issue is being faced. Effective programs are already in place for Russian and Japanese at Bryn Mawr. In addition, there is a movement afoot by the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages to improve and coordinate summer teaching training institutes. But no one has addressed the issue for the entire field. I hope that the Southeast Asian language community, where the problem is most severe, will take some leadership in this area.

CURRICULUM AND MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

The creation of durable teaching materials in the less commonly taught languages calls for a heroic undertaking. On the one hand, what a few scholars have been able to produce has been truly remarkable. On the other hand, materials preparation is a cottage industry in Southeast Asian studies, one that is still based almost entirely on the dedication and expertise of the same few individuals who are called on to do all of the teaching. The result is that for most of the Southeast Asian languages, teachers do not have available the wealth of teaching materials routinely available to teachers of Spanish, French, or

German, who can choose from a wide variety of textbooks, dictionaries, drillbooks, oral tapes, videotapes, annotated collections of authentic materials, and so forth. The teacher's own work in the commonly taught languages is therefore limited to adding a few supplemental things at the margin. On the other hand, it is difficult to talk to a teacher of Southeast Asian languages without getting a sense of the desperate need for even the most basic teaching materials. The existing corpus of teaching materials is sparse; individual teachers often have to create the entire body of teaching material from scratch, often staying just one step ahead of class use.

The result is that teaching programs in most of the less commonly taught languages have accumulated vast stores of undigested remains of the early stages of materials production. As some of you know, I used to be chairman of the University of Pennsylvania's Department of South Asian Studies. At one time or another we taught twelve of the South Asian languages. I cannot tell you how many incomplete sets of dittoed, stenciled, and now Xeroxed teaching materials accumulated over the years. In only three of those languages did these materials ever make it to the textbook stage, and then only the first-year materials were ever completed. I am sure an inventory of available Southeast Asian language teaching materials would show the same ratio of ephemeral to solid, published materials. I am also sure you share the same feeling I used to have that all of that semi-digested material was getting more and more obsolete as the years went by.

I suspect a survey of Southeast Asian language teaching materials would reveal a similar situation. It is time for the field, and I might add, Southeast Asian studies as a whole, to address centrally the issue of materials production. In doing so it might want to consider some organizational steps that may help to ameliorate the ephemeral, cottage industry character of the current materials production system. A first step might be to agree upon an agenda and a set of priorities for the preparation of materials.

Second, we need to codify the current system of materials preparation. Now the preparation of teaching materials in the less commonly taught languages has depended almost totally upon the extraordinary effort of a few linguists. Characteristically, while they may have the time and expertise for the initial preparation of teaching materials, they have neither the time nor the interest to complete the long process of seeing those materials through to final publication, even should there be a publisher and a market for them. What is needed is a materials completion industry for Southeast Asian languages, undertaking some of the functions performed by commercial textbook manufacturers in the commonly taught languages. While the market for most of the less commonly taught languages is too small to attract the large commercial publishing houses, it might be possible to create a pool of individuals and facilities that would take teaching materials produced in first draft by the trained linguist/language teacher and turn them into more durable, more generally accessible publications.

Third, even if we expand our capacity to see materials through the publication stage, we must find a way to increase our capacity to create the original text materials. To accomplish this, it may be necessary to shift our tradition of sole individual authorship to a more collaborative style. The special skills necessary for the production of successful language teaching materials need not be invented from scratch by every linguist who decides to prepare such materials. There is an expertise in materials preparation that is independent of the particular language being taught, and it should be possible to extend to authors the expert help of those who possess that skill. Fortunately, steps are being taken to make this possible. One of the projects of the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages is to produce flexible templates for the production of teaching materials that might be used to assist the efforts of individual authors.

Fourth, given the availability of new multi-media technologies, it seems foolish to just produce textbooks as if the printed book were the only acceptable form for the presentation of teaching materials. In view of the special need in the less commonly taught languages to embed linguistic instruction within an authentic cultural setting, combining print and other media in targeted teaching modules of less than full course length would seem especially appropriate. To return to the structural comments I made earlier, priority should be given to the preparation of materials for individualized learning, particularly learning by adults.

Finally, an interim materials preparation strategy that might be useful for the Southeast Asian languages involves the preparation of general guidelines for the teaching of a language, rather than a formal textbook. The preparation of curricular guidelines is a prior step taken in a situation, such as that in Southeast Asian studies, where pedagogical practices and teaching materials are quite varied and unstandardized. Such guidelines would provide information on timing and sequence, the phasing of skills, when and how to introduce reading and writing, what are core and peripheral lexical items and structures, and pedagogical strategies for particularly difficult teaching tasks. We at the NFLC are helping to develop such guidelines for Japanese and Chinese in preparation for the construction of new College Board Achievement Tests in those languages. The same strategy might also be used in Southeast Asian studies where the teaching materials are scarce or non-existent. Indeed, Southeast Asian studies could take the lead in developing the technology for the creation of just such curricular guidelines.

TESTING

Let me close by adding a few sentences on testing. If I may be forgiven a personal note, one of the many sins of which I am both frequently accused and totally innocent is the foisting of the ACTFL/ILR proficiency guidelines on the less commonly taught languages community. In truth, for the past seven or eight years I have been bemoaning the fact that a single, and in my view flawed, testing technology has, like the shadow of the proverbial banyan tree, prevented the growth of a wider range of testing technologies. So troubled have we at the NFLC been with this phenomenon that we recently held a major international conference whose purpose was to expand the arsenal of tests that might provide information useful to teachers, students, and program administrators seeking to improve their teaching or learning methods. Perhaps the Southeast Asianists, for whom the ACTFL/ILR guidelines are most problematic, might take some leadership in broadening the range of testing strategies that can assist most effectively in the actual learning of languages.

3

Implications of the New Dutch National Action Plan for American Foreign Language Policy

To many in the United States, to speak of a national policy for foreign language instruction is either an oxymoron or a form of odious heresy.* Our foreign language teaching system is not only decentralized but devoutly committed to fragmentation. The closest thing we have to national policy making lies in existing and proposed federal legislation providing financial support for a few segments of the system. We in the United States have what might be called a constrained free market system of foreign language instruction, as in much of education, one dominated by private choices made by states, school districts, schools, colleges, individual teachers, and students, but anchored firmly in what is already in place. Most foreign language teachers like it that way, and few educational policy makers care enough to debate the virtues of such a system.

I hold no brief for centralized educational policy making per se, nor for a major expansion of the federal or state government's intervention into local educational affairs. This is particularly true when around the world economic policy seems to be backing away from central planning. However, it does seem appropriate to examine how the aggregate consequences of our laissez-faire system in foreign language instruction measure up against what a more carefully crafted, more deliberate policy might accomplish. In doing so, we will want to look at a number of different aspects of foreign language instruction so that we can discuss in a more informed manner which aspects of our foreign language educational system could benefit from more collective planning and which are better left to the interplay of market forces.

Some insight into this question may be gained by examining a new national plan[1] for foreign language instruction recently prepared for the Dutch government by a committee headed by Professor Theo van Els of Nijmegen University. There are obvious limitations in using the Dutch example as a basis of comparison. For one thing, it represents a special case even in Europe as the language instructional systems in other European countries vary considerably on many of the features described below. For another, American foreign language teachers would sell their souls for some of the features of the Dutch system: the high levels of student motivation in language learning found in the Netherlands; the unquestioned assumption that everybody should receive a great deal of foreign language instruction; the ability of the Dutch schools to pile on requirements for the lengthy study of two or three foreign languages—only Luxembourg seems able to require its students to devote more time to language learning; the more manageable size and greater homogeneity of the planning entity; and the expectation that a large proportion of the educated elite will in fact use a foreign language in adult life. In the United States, we are still debating whether to require a tiny bit of instruction in one language, student motivation is at best uneven, and relatively few Americans have occasion to use their normally very limited foreign language skills as adults. However, even with these important differences of context in mind, we can learn a great deal by examining the issues that the Dutch National Action Plan addresses. I do not intend to make one long invidious comparison admiring whatever is found abroad and denigrating our own system. Rather, it is hoped that a review of the Dutch plan will help take the foreign language community in the United States away from total rejection of centralized planning per se and suggest that it is time to begin to separate and consider some of the individual issues we must face. What follows, then, is a review of some of the specific issues dealt with in the Dutch plan, and a running commentary on the contrasting American situation and the challenges the issues pose for a planning agenda in the United States.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Position Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, June 1991).

CENTRALIZATION AND SCOPE OF POLICY

The Dutch plan was developed and will be implemented by and large by the national government, a fact that neither surprises nor troubles anyone in the Netherlands. The United States has no equivalent governmental planning mechanism for foreign language instruction. The closest we come are some state- or metropolitan-level officers who hold a foreign language portfolio. The states and metropolitan areas in the United States vary considerably in the amount of attention, direction, and supervision they give to foreign language policy. However, except for broad requirements for courses and teacher certification, the center of gravity in language policy formulation resides largely in the individual school or teacher. Moreover, what collective planning does take place is confined to the primary and secondary school level of our national foreign language system. Higher education is totally atomized with respect to foreign language policy. Few if any planning mechanisms cross institutional lines in postsecondary education, and within institutions decisions affecting language instruction are normally made by departments and individual teachers. In foreign language instruction we do not even have prestigious national organizations that regularly monitor educational developments and successfully sponsor reform in the teaching of other disciplines. For instance, in disciplines such as physics or mathematics, committees of the National Academy of Science or of the relevant professional associations serve as sponsors. We do have major professional membership associations in the various foreign languages, and they occasionally address issues of national policy in a pursuit of federal funding or in ad hoc exercises in discussing national priorities. However, they have no planning mandate for the field whereby the scattered teachers and programs will follow centrally arrived-at priorities and agendas even when they are developed. There is no tradition-sanctioned place to stand when debating issues of national policy nor a place to anchor the lever for change once fresh policies have been agreed on.

The arguments for disaggregated decision making often heard in American foreign language education do not seem to have troubled the Dutch planners very much. Indeed, the new Dutch plan not only assumes a dominant role for centralized planning but also tries to fit all the segments of foreign language instruction into a common framework (except for minority language policy, which in greater part it relegates to another planning division). The various sections of a foreign language instructional system are articulated by deliberately assigning interlocking responsibilities and roles to the different segments, by prescribing in detail the amount of language instruction students must take at various levels, and by attempting to develop what the Dutch call "an autonomous structure" that specifies a grid of language skill levels into which the different parts of the educational system may be expected to fit their foreign language objectives.

I do not mean to imply that all Dutch foreign language instruction, nor that of any other country in Europe, is totally centrally planned and administered. Even in a relatively small country like the Netherlands not all decisions have been made as to what will be centrally and what locally governed. In the Netherlands, each school has a fundamental right to decide on its own curriculum, even if it is fully subsidized by the central government; and most schools are run by private foundations, usually denominational. In addition, there is a general move in Dutch education to decentralize control of all education to allow greater local autonomy by providing undifferentiated lump-sum payments to schools. This will loosen even further control of the specifics of foreign language instruction. And in the Netherlands there are different degrees of centralization in different aspects of language instruction. For instance, even in language testing there is a curious division whereby reading examinations are set and graded centrally while speaking and listening evaluations are done locally. As another example, a central decision has been made that all lower-level schools must teach English to a particular level, but instructional style is determined by the individual school. More generally, centrally developed goals are implemented by the control of funding and testing at the national level and by what the Dutch call "steering," that is, exerting multifaceted influence throughout the system to accomplish centrally determined goals.

The balance between fiat and persuasion is open to continuous negotiation in the Netherlands, as elsewhere. Nonetheless, the notion that the setting of goals and the determination of the architecture of the system as a whole are legitimate functions of the central government is well established in the Netherlands and in many other countries of Europe.

THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGES

The Dutch plan gives a great deal of attention to deciding which languages will be required or offered in different kinds of institutions, and to differentiating between required and optional languages. There are four basic principles motivating the new Dutch plan: concentration, differentiation by level, adult use, and function.

Unlike the American system which encourages proliferation, the Dutch decision is to limit the number of languages taught at various levels. The complement of languages offered is constant, based on the argument that education through the secondary school provides a common educational base to all students and the languages studied should be the same for all students. At the primary level instruction is limited to English. In secondary schools, except for minority children who may choose to take instruction in their own language, just three languages are to be offered: English, French, and German. Provided certain conditions have been met, students in the upper secondary school may also take Spanish and possibly also Arabic or Turkish. Barring these exceptions, for most students instruction in all other languages is confined either to the tertiary level or to specialized vocationally oriented schools outside of the formal educational system.

In the Dutch plan three rationales govern the choice of languages to be taught. First, the choice of English, French, and German is based upon surveys of actual use of those languages by adults. Second, a conscious decision has been made about where Dutch national interest lies, defined in terms of the demands of international business (both on the world scene and in the coming European market unification in 1992).

The third basis of decision is essentially teleological, that is, it is based upon an examination of the ultimate purposes of studying a language and reflects not only which but how languages are taught. The Dutch distinguish three different purposes of language learning:

1. the need for communicative skills in that language;
2. needs which are linked to the communicative skills, such as familiarity with the culture or literature of another nation;
3. needs which are not, or at best are only indirectly, linked to skills in a particular foreign language, e.g., learning to think logically or developing transcultural empathy.[2]

These three types of need for foreign language skills are ranked in order of importance. Languages for which only the third need can be argued are not to be offered at the primary or secondary level at all. Those meeting the second need may be considered, but this need is to be met in separate courses dealing with, say, literature, and are not to be confused with communicative language learning.

The Dutch decision to concentrate language instruction through the secondary level in just three languages has its costs. It limits foreign language instruction for all to a single world language (English) and two languages of neighboring countries (French and German). Pressure to expand the number of foreign languages taught in the secondary schools is sure to mount. As the unification of the market of the European Community approaches in 1992, there will doubtless be pressure to expand instruction to include other European languages, particularly those of southern Europe that are less frequently studied in northern countries. The proposed Dutch policy also inhibits the growth of instruction in the non-European languages—for instance, Japanese—which may be vital to the Netherlands' future. Even with these drawbacks, however, the decision to concentrate on three languages in the lower levels of the educational system and to limit instruction in other languages to the university, vocational, proprietary, and other private bodies is a rational and carefully thought-out policy. The Dutch believe that thereby a proper and well-balanced division of labor will be developed to meet the need for foreign languages adequately somewhere in the system as a whole. The use of the criteria of actual adult use and strategic national interest in choosing which languages to teach raises interesting questions for American language policy.

In the United States we have no reasoned plan guiding the particular languages that students should be taught.[3] Nor is there any public discussion of the kind reflected in the Dutch plan on what the ideal complement and enrollment profiles in the different languages should be. We cannot, as the Dutch did, use adult usage as the guide to language choice, since it would probably make a weak case for the study of foreign languages at all, let alone provide help in determining which ones should be studied. Nor can we argue for clear national interest in the choice of language. We might, as the Dutch did, use the geographic propinquity of other countries or the language of our principal ethnic minority (both arguing for Spanish) or commercial importance (arguing for Spanish, German, and Japanese). However, neither adult use nor national interest enters very much into the choice of languages offered or taken in the United States.

One reason for the lack of discussion about which languages should be offered or studied is that our teleology of language instruction is different from that of the Dutch. Their ranking of languages based on the reasons for studying them—first communication, then cultural knowledge supporting communication, and finally general intellectual development—is not nearly so widely accepted in the United States. Indeed, we tend to turn this list of priorities on its head. The argument so often heard on campuses and in some of the national foreign language associations is that language study is a humanity, and like other humanities, languages should be studied for their mind-broadening effect or for what they teach us about other people's cultures. Whatever its intrinsic virtues, giving priority to this function of foreign language learning reverses the Dutch order of priorities The effect of this reversal is to make it difficult to argue in the United States for any choice of a particular language. The study of almost any language will serve humanistic ends.

More generally, there is little tradition in the United States of making rational decisions about which languages should be offered and taken. Our complement of language courses results from the interaction of three factors: what the individual teachers who are in place are capable of and choose to teach, the nature of foreign language requirements, and student choices. This matrix of institutional constraints and individual student choices constitutes our de facto national policy on language selection.

It is interesting to note that in this constrained market economy of language choice the profile of languages offered and taken in the United States has shifted radically over time. Few remember that Latin was the language with the most courses offered and highest enrollments in the United States at the turn of the century. In subsequent decades there was a shift to French, then Spanish as the language with the largest number of students enrolled. German now ranks third, in part because students believe it to be a more difficult language to learn. Other languages are taught at the margin and together account for less than 5 percent of total enrollments. Moreover, since enrollments in these languages are dependent upon ephemeral student preferences, they are subject to rapid expansion and decline. Russian and Chinese have recently been on a roller coaster in student enrollments, and Japanese instruction is experiencing an extraordinary spurt of growth. Given the zero-sum nature of foreign language enrollments in colleges and high schools, teachers of the other languages see the rapid expansion in Japanese as a possible threat to their own well-being in the academic marketplace. And given the nonfungibility of language competence among teachers, the system as a whole has great difficulty in adjusting to unplanned shifts in student preferences in a situation in which no countervailing rationale guides language choice.

REQUIREMENTS AND OPTIONS

Paralleling the lack of a reasoned policy informing the selection of which languages to offer, we in the United States tend to make relatively few other distinctions among languages regarding the proper level at which they should be studied, how long, and by what kind of students. The Dutch plan, on the other hand, makes many such distinctions. First, there are differences by level and by required versus optional languages. English alone is to be studied by all students in primary school. As in most European educational systems, at the secondary level Dutch students are sorted into different curricular tracks depending upon their presumed occupational interests and promise of continuing on to college. At present, about one-third of primary school students enter vocational education, although the number has been steadily declining. The others proceed to general secondary education, where students are in turn differentiated into three groups: those who will take four, those who will take five, and those who will take six more years of schooling. Students in the latter group intend to go on to the university level.

Variations in the amount and orientation of secondary education that students take are reflected in differences in foreign language requirements. When the new plan is adopted, English will be mandatory for all students, including vocational students, in the first phase of secondary education. Subsequently, students must choose between French and German. In the second phase of vocational training, the third language may be chosen, but a student need be examined in only two—usually English and German. For students enrolled in general secondary education, English, French, and German are compulsory in the first phase, but after three or four years students may drop two languages. Most drop only one—French more often than German. At the university level, except for students who have special foreign language needs, all language study is optional. It is assumed that all students have the requisite foreign language skills when they enter a university. This is the dream of many university-based teachers of upper-level language and literature courses in the United States.

In addition to differentiating the total amount of foreign language training that various types of students are required to take, the Dutch plan also distinguishes between requirements for language learning in which all four skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) are specified and instruction in what are called "partial qualifications," that is, teaching reading skills only. This is particularly true for languages serving the second and third educational purposes: the promotion of cultural understanding or general intellectual improvement.

This highly orchestrated set of foreign language choices and requirements stands in sharp contrast to the essentially laissez-faire system in the United States. First, the choice of languages to be studied in America is not formally specified, although there is a de facto concentration of languages offered in Spanish, French, or German. While there is a greater proliferation of languages at the postsecondary level, it is more the result of historical accident than of planning as in the Dutch case. Moreover, pressure is constantly being exerted to expand the number of languages taught at the level of the high school, or for that matter the elementary school. Nor do we distinguish between required and optional languages, and "partial qualifications" are viewed as old-fashioned and unacceptable. While some language programs may wind up as de facto reading programs, only in Latin, Greek, and in some places Hebrew is the teaching of reading alone viewed as a legitimate enterprise.

In the United States we do not differentiate foreign languages into optional and required categories. For purposes of meeting a language requirement, a language is a language, except for the old Ph.D. requirements that used to specify French and German as the only acceptable languages of scholarship. (Even this restriction is now gone, although in some universities there is a vestigial specification that only "languages of research" or "languages in which there is an extensive scholarly tradition" will qualify.)

The primordial struggle in the United States is not over which languages should be required or optional, as in the Netherlands, but over how to require a minimal amount of study of any language for as many students as possible. The battle over a language requirement is a hardy perennial on many an American campus. In addition, voices at the national level urge the further extension of foreign language requirements. For instance, the Board of Directors of the American Council on Education (ACE), an assembly of college and university presidents, recently declared that every baccalaureate graduate of an American college or university should have a usable level of competency (whatever that means) in a foreign language by the year 2000.[4] First, unlike the Dutch plan, the ACE resolution says nothing about which languages should be studied. Second, it relates to all baccalaureate students, undifferentiated by career goals. Third, to accomplish this goal would demand not just a standardization of what is already in place (as in the Dutch plan), but indeed a major expansion in foreign language requirements that would require a curricular revolution.

This ex cathedra encyclical provides a further contrast between the American and the Dutch system that is worth noting. In the Netherlands the principal domain of foreign language requirements is the secondary school, while in the United States it is college, i.e. university. Some states mandate language requirements for students graduating from high school. More commonly, the college or university sets whatever foreign language requirements there are. The universal foreign language requirement typical of many European countries is uncommon in the United States. In 1987, 13 percent of our four-year colleges had one foreign language requirement for all incoming students and 16 percent for all graduating students. Much more common was the partial language requirement: 52 percent of four-year institutions required some students—usually arts and science students—to have taken foreign language courses in order to graduate.[5] Very few institutions administer the kind of course-free proficiency examination that would make it possible to determine whether the ACE goal is met. Two-year colleges, where almost half of American college level students are enrolled, rarely have either an entrance or a graduation foreign language requirement. Moreover, in contrast to the Netherlands, where a de facto ten-year requirement of foreign language study is not uncommon, in the United States foreign language requirements, even where they do exist, tend to be quite modest: only one or two semesters of foreign language study satisfy the graduation requirements in 39 percent of all four-year colleges.

Given this rather limited set of foreign language requirements, how much foreign language education do American students get? Curiously, we have no data linking foreign language study in high school and college,[6] so we have no idea of how many students take how much language instruction in which languages across the full range of their studies. We do know that about 71 percent of freshmen entering college have had at least two years of foreign language instruction in high school. In top-ranking schools the numbers will be much higher. Unfortunately, when they reach college, students are often put back to a beginning stage. For instance, 98 percent of freshmen entering Ohio State University had taken three years of a foreign language in high school. Of these, 68 percent who continued studying the same language at the university were placed in the very first semester of instruction in that language when they entered that university.[7]

While we have no data on cumulative foreign language learning across educational levels of the kind that the Dutch system of requirements routinely provides, it is clear that in the United States few American students receive anywhere close to the amount of foreign language training that Dutch students of all kinds are exposed to. Half of our four-year college students (52 percent)[8] do not take any foreign language course at all, about 50 percent of the residual students drop out after the first year of collegiate foreign language courses, and another 50 percent drop out after the second year. The average number of foreign language courses taken by those students who get any foreign language instruction at all in college is 1.5.

This vast difference in the amount of foreign language training for students in the Netherlands vs. those in the United States raises fundamental policy questions for us. Given the low demand for and adult utilization of foreign languages, do we want to strive for an immense increase in the number of students who take a limited number of foreign language courses? Do we want to raise all students to a very substantial level of foreign language competence, as the ACE declaration implies? Do we want to accommodate either of these goals by extending universal or selective requirements, as in the Dutch case? Or, given our low starting point in terms of foreign language competency, the American preference for free choice as to whether students take foreign language instruction, and our limited adult use of foreign languages, is the expansion of universal language requirements such as those found in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe the only useful policy option? Should we adopt a more targeted, less ambitious language policy, one differentiated more carefully by language, by level, by type of student? Should we divert some of our national resources into language skill conservation and rejuvenation rather than concentrating them exclusively on first-time learners? Should more resources be put into generating adult use of foreign languages, thereby increasing student demand and inducing students to stay with language instruction until they achieve a genuine communicative competence? Or should we continue to concentrate on expanding the number of students who take a little bit of foreign language training?

PLANNING FOR THE WHOLE SYSTEM

The Dutch national plan incorporates a well-developed occupation- or profession-oriented language instructional system in the same frame of reference as language learning in the formal school system. Most European countries have developed extensive official and proprietary language training facilities for workers in various occupations, and for translators and interpreters. In Finland, for instance, the national government administers a series of training programs and certification examinations. Indeed, the Council of Europe maintains an elaborate network of such governmental facilities. And throughout Europe formal plans usually span both school-based and adult foreign language instruction. In the United States, by contrast, almost all of our planning assumes language instruction takes place only in the formal educational system; adult, occupational language training is what might be called an unorganized sector. We pay almost no attention to that part of our national language instructional system that serves adults, particularly occupational use.[9] In the main, such instruction is provided within the federal government's own schools or in commercial language schools, and it has almost nothing to do with what takes place in our formal educational system. I know of no planning in the American system that links foreign language instruction for use by government or business employees, or by adults in general, with instruction in our schools and colleges. Yet it is in such use-oriented instruction that we may develop the higher levels of language skills to meet the types of demands that the Europeans take for granted.

TESTING

In the Netherlands, foreign language testing is the responsibility of a free-standing organization of the central government that sets and administers examinations and establishes standards for successful completion. In addition, an equivalent organization develops curricula. One of the hallmarks of language instruction in many European countries is the overt link between uniform curricula and tests of student performance, both centrally administered. While there has been some concern about the backwash effect of uniform testing (that is, that classroom teaching is bent toward achieving high ranking on the test), the legitimacy of language tests themselves is not subject to major battles in Europe, as it is in the United States. Indeed, foreign language reform movements in Europe are largely about curriculum and pedagogical style, while in the United States the current dominant reform movement in foreign language education has been centered on testing strategy. (Moreover, the American testing reform movement is moving in a direction opposite to that found in the Netherlands and in much of Europe: We have been seeking to establish criteria for tests of language proficiency that are totally independent of curricular content and style.) However, in recent years we have been backing away somewhat from this ideology of isolation in a deliberate attempt to promote a test backwash effect that would reshape the American foreign language curriculum to reflect the new conception of foreign language skills embodied in proficiency testing. One of the paradoxes of the American situation is that the movement to induce universal adoption of uniform proficiency standards is severely handicapped by the disaggregated nature of decision-making in foreign language education. Except for a few state-level initiatives, such as teacher certification in Texas, every battle for the new testing standards calls for house-to-house combat. It is also curious that in other parts of American education, particularly in mathematics and the sciences, there are strong forces moving toward the kind of national testing procedures and standards found in the

Netherlands. Within mathematics there is even a movement toward a uniform national curriculum. In the United States, however, the foreign language profession is curiously almost totally unconnected to such developments.

CONCLUSION

This review of the issues raised for American foreign language planning by the new Dutch national plan is not meant to be one long paean of praise for the Dutch system and denigration of our own. The Dutch have their own problems. Indeed, the Dutch plan is an attempt to deal with some of these deficiencies. As I said at the outset, the purpose of this review is not to assess which system of foreign language instruction is better, but to illuminate some of the individual issues we in the United States must face. The fact that the Dutch situation is different from our own does not mean that we need not make more rational decisions on many of these same issues. Perhaps our current disaggregated, school-bound, free-choice-driven, unarticulated, low-skill-level-focused, humanities-oriented, European-language-bound system of foreign language instruction is optimal in meeting our national needs in the next century. In my view, however, some important changes are called for: a vigorous public debate on these and similar issues in our de facto national language policy would be very healthy.

NOTES

1. *Horizon Taal,* Nationaal Actieprogramma Moderne Vreemde Talen, Nota van Aanbevelingen (Nijmegen: Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, February 1990).

2. Theo van Els, "Policy-Making in Foreign Language Teaching," *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen,* 36 (1990):88.

3. Exceptions to this are the various federal funding programs promoting instruction in the less commonly taught languages, particularly the Higher Education Act, Title VI.

4. American Council on Education Policy Statement, "What We Can't Say Can Hurt Us" (Washington, D.C., 1989).

5. Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989).

6. We know even less about the subsequent language learning careers of students who receive elementary school–level foreign language instruction.

7. Personal communication from Ivan Dihoff, Ohio State University.

8. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate,* p. 66.

9. See Richard D. Lambert, *The National Foreign Language System,* NFLC Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, June 1989).

4

Distance Education and Foreign Languages

Like so many major innovations in educational technology, distance education appears in a variety of settings and is used for a variety of purposes.* Such innovations often take on the character of somewhat evangelical social movements. Fed by the enthusiasm of their proponents, they spread crablike through our infinitely disaggregated educational system. They tend to resist any kind of homogenization or attempts at centralized administration, particularly when much of the action lies outside the formal educational system in the corporate and business world, as is the case with distance education. Moreover, what goes under the rubric of distance education is not one but a large number of quite varied technologies. Distance education is used for so many purposes that it is difficult to speak sensibly about the collective enterprise.[1] Here I will direct my remarks to one specific application of distance learning to instruction in foreign languages, making side references to issues that have a broader relevance as they arise.

In this brief article I will be able to address only a limited set of issues. I do not intend here to evaluate the internal operation of programs currently in operation. Such an assessment is clearly needed, but it must be made by practitioners with experience in the actual operation of programs. Readers are directed to the reports of major consortial programs such as those of the Midlands Consortium, especially the Oklahoma State courses in German described by Harry S. Wohlert;[2] the Russian and Japanese programs of the Satellite Educational Resources Consortium (SERC); the Spanish and Japanese programs of the Educational Services District in Spokane under the district's Satellite Telecommunications Programming; the North Carolina State Department of Instruction and TI-IN United Star Network; the Massachusetts and New York area's Technical Educations Research Centers system; and Ohio State's telephone language program in Russian and the East European languages. There are also many local programs of interest. This article has another purpose. I want to dream a little as to where we might want to be a decade hence, what our future national agenda might be. Moreover, I want to step outside the frame of reference of distance education itself and set it in the broader context of our national system of foreign language instruction. I want to highlight potential clienteles and the functions that it might perform in the future. I realize that distance education is now very much a market-driven phenomenon, and proposed changes must be responsive to expressed needs and audiences. It is apparent, however, that at least some of the potential of distance education with respect to foreign languages will not be met by strictly following the dictates of current demand. Distance education in foreign languages is a classic case of the lack of fit between national need and market demand. It is also clear that trends in distance foreign language instruction are piggybacking and thus dependent on developments in other fields such as technology, science, and mathematics. If it were to develop in the service of national needs in foreign language instruction per se, it would have a somewhat different character. What follows, then, are some comments on a national agenda for the future as it might look if one started from the perspective of needed national language policy rather than an extrapolation of current trends. I will make only passing reference to hardware limitations, assuming, as is often asserted, that the technology is there once we decide what it is we want to do. There are, of course, considerations of cost that must temper even the most expansive of dreams, but for the moment I will treat these considerations as secondary.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, June 1991). This paper also appears in *Electronic Links for Learning*, ed. Vivian M. Horner and Linda G. Roberts, vol. 514 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (March 1991).

NONACADEMIC CLIENTELES

Our national foreign language instructional system[3] can be roughly divided into three parts: (1) foreign language training for direct occupational use in business and government;[4] (2) foreign language education in the school and college system; and (3) foreign language instruction for the general public where the purpose and style of the instruction fall somewhere between the other two parts of the system. For much of distance instruction, training for occupational use contributes a great deal in innovation and resource investment. Moreover, the discipline of measuring the effectiveness of training in the direct utilization of skills on the job helps to hone instructional practice to maximal efficiency.

Business. Training for occupational use, particularly in business, is largely absent in distance foreign language instruction. There are few, if any, distance foreign language programs being used directly in corporations in the United States.[5] The lack of such programs is a reflection of the low demand for foreign language skills in American business in general.[6] This situation of low demand for foreign language training in American business contrasts starkly with Europe, where there is a great deal of activity, leading to the creation of the Occupationally Oriented Foreign Language Section in the Council of Europe, which deals with such activities. The forthcoming unification of the market in Europe will dramatize even further the need for such programs in the European Community. This lack of participation of the corporate sector in the United States in foreign language training in general and in distance instruction in particular is a pity. One would have thought that the capacity of distance teaching to deliver language training directly to widely distributed corporate employees in their workplace, and the ability to deliver it when and if it is needed and fitted to the rhythm of busy employees, would have made it more suitable for business needs than campus-based instruction. To the extent that corporate needs for foreign language training are met now, they are being served by a variety of commercial language schools. In general, such schools are surprisingly low-tech and have little capacity for distance instruction. This is surely a frontier for distance foreign language teaching, one that, if it were well developed, might pay handsome dividends for the field as a whole.

Government. The other major users of occupational foreign language training are the various agencies of the federal government, particularly the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the various intelligence agencies. Like business, they have the resources for experimentation and development in the use of high-technology equipment. Some of the agencies, particularly the Department of Defense, use distance instruction extensively in programs such as the Army Logistics Management College, with its two-way audio courses on the Satellite Education Network, Defense's Training Reserves Integrated Network System,[7] in scattered schools for Native Americans under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and in the Department of Agriculture. As in business, however, they tend not to use distance learning for foreign language instruction. To date, the federal agencies have had a decided preference for on-site intensive training, but this may change, especially within the Department of Defense, as severe budget cuts force them to meet their training needs by contracting for outside services.[8] The incentive to use distance facilities for foreign language instruction along with their other training needs will surely increase. One of the more interesting potential uses of distance language instruction is in the almost unique program managed by the U.S. Army's Foreign Language Training Center, Europe, that serves as a skill maintenance and rejuvenation center for training foreign language specialists serving with various units of the Army in Europe. Since the situation is characterized by dispersed needs and centralized teaching resources, it provides a natural opportunity for distance instruction.

The general public. The needs of the general adult population for foreign language training are even less well met than those of business and government. First of all, given the low status of foreign language learning in the United States, the demand for it tends to be weak, sporadic, and too short-lived to hold learners to the task for the long haul needed to acquire usable language skills. Currently, public demand is met, as is business demand, by enrollment in courses offered by proprietary schools, by the utilization of the low-quality materials available for tourists, or by the employment of native speakers for ad hoc tutorials. In addition, there are a few language courses given on public television such as the highly popular Annenberg/Corporation for Public Broadcasting course *French in Action*, which serves the same public educational purposes in the United States as the British Broadcasting Corporation's language courses or the Open University courses in Great Britain. The success of *French in Action* indicates that there is a market out there, as does Harry S. Wohlert's story of unaffiliated adults seeking to enroll in his University of Oklahoma teledistance course in German. It is possible that greater international exposure of the American public of the kind illustrated by C-Span's plan to internationalize its coverage[9] and to make it multilingual will also increase the demand. No one, to my knowledge, has faced the issue of just what form that demand will take. The fact that Professor Wohlert feels the need to develop a new course indicates that just a replication of current high-school- and college-oriented courses will not do.

Maintenance and refresher courses. There is a clear national need in both the business and the public sector, but also in general adult education, that distance language instruction is ideally suited to meet the maintenance and rejuvenation of skills once acquired. Our entire language instructional process is geared to first-time language learning. Moreover, current courses are not very responsive to partial knowledge in the learner. They assume that the individual is either a complete novice or rests at one of the plateaus in language learning that presumably come at the end of each semester or year. We need a much more finely calibrated system measuring the level of competence of people who have had prior language training or exposure, and we need instructional materials to take them to greater fluency. We also need a system for reinforcing foreign language skills once acquired. Any such service would be immensely useful in occupationally oriented foreign language training as well as serve the needs of the general public. Distance learning is ideally suited to serve this purpose.

An interesting example of an attempt to meet this need is the newly introduced—in March 1990—course in French grammar offered by La Direction de la Formation à Distance (DFD) du Ministère de l'Education du Québec, *Du français sans faute.*[10] First, a diagnostic test measuring skills in French was mailed to every household in Quebec. Based on the test results, the DFD provided skill portraits to 33,000 test takers and by mid-April had sent out 5,000 learning modules provided by the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Education. Unfortunately, there is no felt need for language competence in the United States equivalent to the importance of French in Quebec, but the general format of public instruction through distance learning tailored to language-skill maintenance and improvement among adults is an interesting prototype.

THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

Almost all distance foreign language instruction is directed at and through the formal educational system. Typically, it originates in a land-grant university's school of education or a consortium of universities, although some state governments manage their own. In addition, there are commercial services such as the TI-IN Network that serve as stand-alone or collaborative providers. By and large, it is directed to high schools, although some university continuing-education divisions provide college-level courses with or without credit.[11]

The first point to be made is that distance teaching or learning, by and large, is marginal to our primary foreign language instruction system. Its explicit rationale—that it provides instruction for students and schools that would not otherwise be reached—is, by choice, a marginal role. Its implicit rule, that it will not compete with or displace existing language teachers and courses, buys it both peace and autonomy. As I will note, it also limits the impact of its technological and pedagogical innovations on the main body of language instruction in the United States.

The marginality of distance language instruction is evident from a brief glance at numbers. No one has counted the total number of students being taught foreign languages at a distance, but it is surely only in the thousands. In 1986–87 there were 4.5 million students enrolled in high school foreign language courses and 1.0 million students enrolled in college courses. Equalizing and expanding access to high-quality foreign language instruction is surely a worthy national goal, as it is in science and mathematics. In the long run, however, the value placed on this function in improving our national system of foreign language instruction depends upon whether we place high priority on a modest expansion in the number of students getting a little bit of language instruction. That is, not only are the enrollments in distance education minuscule compared with the millions of students enrolled in high-school and college-level instruction, but most courses and enrollments go no higher than the beginning stages of language learning, a point to which I will return. It might be argued that distance education represents the future in foreign language instruction or that the technological and pedagogical implications of distance language learning can have a major impact on the main corpus of foreign language instruction, another point I will deal with later in this article. Nonetheless, as currently constituted, its role is supplemental, not transformational.

Less commonly taught languages. There is one aspect of the marginality in distance foreign language instruction that represents an opportunity to serve one of our major national needs. Instruction in non–Western European languages is a clear national objective. It is obvious to all that if our nation is to enhance our foreign language competencies to enable us to cope more effectively in an increasingly interrelated world, we must expand the number of citizens who have at least a rudimentary familiarity with some of the non–Western European languages. Business as usual, with language instruction dealing almost exclusively with French, German, and Spanish, will not do.

Distance education can make a great contribution to diffusing instruction in non-European languages more widely through our educational system. There are, of course, more than a hundred such languages, and it is neither possible nor desirable to try to introduce them all. We have, however, already made a beginning in distance education in two languages: Russian and Japanese. The history of the diffusion of instruction in these two languages through the educational system tells us something about potential future development of distance education in other less commonly taught languages. Russian is the most commonly taught of the less commonly taught languages. Its expansion comes from a perception of national interest rather than increasing student demand, although the recent quantum leap in contacts and student and faculty exchanges may raise enrollment. Until four years ago, Russian was one of the three languages in which national enrollments were drifting downward.[12] The diffusion of instruction in Japanese, on the other hand, is responding to surging student demand and a sudden recognition by public and academic policymakers—curiously, not American business[13]—of the growing importance of Japan. Distance education in Japanese is, in part, a response to the desire to introduce such instruction in many different locations with a very limited and highly concentrated supply of teachers. It also is a way that schools can offer courses in Japanese so long as demand exists and can drop it if demand declines without the pains of staff appointment and dismissal.

Thus the introduction of one or the other of these two languages provides a natural point of entry of distance learning into foreign language teaching. It also raises special problems. What teachers and program administrators are finding in the introduction of Japanese and, to a lesser extent, Russian distance courses is that the pedagogical infrastructure, the agreed-upon curriculum, and the abundance of teaching materials available to teach European languages are just not available for the non-European languages. At the same time, the problems of teaching a difficult language to Americans when even the functions of language, let alone the content of the language, are so different, are overwhelming even in regular classroom settings. Accordingly, education teachers of Japanese are having to create a curriculum almost de novo at the same time that they are trying to adapt to the limitations and possibilities of distance teaching technology. In short, a number of the most important experiments in introducing distance teaching or learning into foreign language instruction have encountered a host of special problems that reflect the limits of our teaching capacity in these languages more generally, rather than limitations on the effectiveness of the technology.

The diffusion of the less commonly taught languages through our educational system illustrates clearly many of the advantages and disadvantages of distance education as a strategy. Hence, let me briefly pursue the question of national policy with respect to the less commonly taught languages. As a nation, we have made an immense investment over the years in creating an academic resource base to teach many of the non-European languages of the world.[14] Viewed from a national perspective, the distribution of instruction in these languages presents an almost classic case for the utilization of distance instruction. Student demand for instruction in, say, Burmese or Twi or Farsi is very widely dispersed and variable, while teaching personnel and resources are highly centralized. The creation of a distance learning capacity in these languages would appear to be a natural development. Except for the few Japanese and Russian courses, however, there has been almost no movement in this direction, illustrating very clearly the tension between a national need and the restraints of our demand-driven system. Moreover, the fact that these courses are directed almost entirely to high school while the students studying these languages are in college, or, more particularly, in graduate school, shows the limitations in clienteles under which distance education operates. If the development of distance instructional capacities in these low-demand languages is dependent upon current institutional arrangements and must await the arrival of massive student demand, it will be a long time in coming.

Relationship with the main body of foreign language instruction. As noted previously, teaching languages at a distance resides, in the main, outside the mainstream of foreign language instruction in our formal educational system. To some extent, this is also true of other aspects of distance learning. Even the highly successful National Technological University (NTU), an enterprise managed and staffed by twenty-nine leading engineering schools, is supplemental to the main body of engineering education in the United States. While its courses are taught from and by the faculty of different universities, it aims its programs at adult learners—frequently, those already employed in one of eighty sponsoring corporations and government agencies. One of NTU's primary functions is to carry news of cutting-edge research and to provide training to executives and technicians at many different sites. The regular degree programs affected are on each of the participating campuses, and it offers seven different M.S. programs.

Distance foreign language instruction, as noted earlier, does not now serve this need for adult skill maintenance or reinforcement. It operates almost entirely as a supplemental educational mechanism for currently underserved schools and students. Seen from the national perspective, distance instruction operates in a sort of educational ghetto in foreign language instruction, unrelated to and not interfering with the bulk of on-campus language instruction. Its ghetto status is reinforced by a set of attitudes on the part of hundreds of thousands of foreign language teachers who see distance instruction as a possible threat to their careers. Moreover, these teachers are survivors of a series of earlier technological enthusiasms ranging from language labs to computer-assisted instruction, artificial intelligence, and machine translation, and they have developed a healthy skepticism about new high-tech teaching devices—those satellite dishes are viewed as yet another false messiah. In addition, their everyday experience in the classroom convinces them of how essential direct face-to-face contact is in language teaching. Indeed, there is a curious division of opinion in which the specialists in distance teaching or learning believe that distance foreign language instruction is the easiest and most successful kind of course to offer while most language teachers believe it is of very limited use. Language teachers believe that, as indicated by student test scores, courses taught at a distance at best equal classroom instruction and that the transformation costs are not worth the benefits. Nor, from the perspective of school and college administrators, are the cost benefits of distance education overwhelming, especially when a foreign language faculty is already in place. This is why the teaching of Japanese, and perhaps other less commonly taught languages, is a natural point of penetration; distance teaching of Japanese does not have to displace an existing establishment.

In spite of these semi-Luddite resistances among foreign language teachers, from the national policy perspective, the long-term value of distance foreign language instruction will depend upon its ability to integrate with and influence the general mainstream of language instruction. So long as it spins along as a marginal enterprise it will have limited national impact. To have a broad national impact, in my view, one general organizational shift has to take place, and several different potential functions of distance learning in foreign languages should be emphasized.

One of the major limitations to the expansion of distance foreign language instruction is that it is packaged almost exclusively as a semester- or year-long course. Indeed, the Annenberg/Corporation for Public Broadcasting project that provided funding for much of the experimentation and development in this area is limited by charter to the support of semester- or year-long courses. The full-semester or year-long course format means that either a classroom-taught course is substituted for or it is not. If we abandon the procrustean bed of a full-fledged semester or year-long course, we can think more freely about what role distance learning can play in foreign language instruction. For instance, the instruction can be provided in modular format as a substitute for particular aspects of a course, as a curricular supplement to be used in existing courses, or as "designer" instructional materials delivered to teachers or individual students to be used on demand and responsive to individual needs. If distance education were to add such flexible resources to our general capacity for foreign language instruction, it might have a greater impact on our national teaching capacity than would the current practice of adding courses at the periphery. In addition to breaking the restraints of the full-course format, there are a few additional functions in foreign language teaching that distance education might serve.

Provider of cultural context. Distance education technologies can be the ultimate suppliers of realia that provide constantly refreshed cultural context to language learning. There is now, of course, a huge market in foreign language films, video tapes and discs, and printed realia, some of it already combined into courses. It is not yet possible to reproduce cultural context quite so perfectly as the holodeck on the Starship Enterprise, but theoretically at least, one could technically bring a variety of foreign settings to the classroom. To some extent commercially available video and print materials perform this function now.

The special contribution of distance learning, with its capacity for contemporaneous communication beyond what the relatively static course materials currently provide, lies in the possibility of providing current or very recent materials, of semi-digesting them to meet student learning needs, and of providing for direct interaction with in-country native speakers. There are, of course, a number of experiments in this area already underway. The most common one is pulling off a satellite dish news broadcasts from other countries and in other languages. These facilities provide the motivational stimulus of currency, but they are hampered by the fact that, for all but the most advanced learners, listening to such programs is like drinking from a fire hose. The flood of language reaching the learner in a foreign television newscast is too fast and too massive to be usefully ingested. A variation on this unprocessed flow that has the advantage of recency—but adds a process of semi-digestion—is the Public Broadcasting Service's program *France-TV Magazine*, which is jointly sponsored by the French Foreign Ministry and our Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. It distills a previous month's telecasts into a 60-minute program and provides supplemental print materials which annotate events, cultural context, and linguistic features.

To realize its full potential, distance education in foreign languages must allow for live interaction with native speakers resident in the country where the language is spoken. Some of this kind of interaction exists now, but generally not involving foreign languages. Teleconferences now provide audio discussions on current issues between students in the Soviet Union and students at, for instance, the University of Maryland and Harvard University. These conferences normally take place in English, however. Similar occasions, with interactive video complemented by pedagogical crutches to assist in language learning, would be an immensely valuable addition.

Skill levels. One of the reasons why implementing programs of truly interactive transnational language learning is so difficult is that so few American students reach a high enough level of competence in any foreign language to use it effectively as a vehicle of communication. Almost all of our instruction, including most especially that given in distance courses, is aimed at beginning levels. This emphasis on the early stages of language learning is characteristic of the entire system. It is almost as if a natural law is in operation, whereby only 50 percent of students finishing a first-year language course go on to take a second year, and only 50 percent of those go on to a third year, and so on. The result is that a lot of students are getting just a little bit of language education and few students outside of language majors stay with a language long enough to acquire useful competence.

This situation limits the full effectiveness and utility of distance language instruction, particularly its ability to use native-speaker interaction as a learning tool. Ironically, it is precisely at the upper skill levels that distance learning can make a unique contribution. The key to raising skills at the upper level is greater spread of what linguists call registers, that is, the many different contexts in which language is used; learning what are called pragmatics, that is, the social meanings of language and the nonverbal cues such as body language that reinforce them; and mastering use of slang, informal language, jargon, and the constantly changing world of idioms. These are forms of language use that mark the near-native speaker. There are few existing courses geared specifically to training for such skill levels. Moreover, the need for specially focused training for upper-level skills is not limited to first-time learners. Such training is precisely what is needed for maintaining skills and upgrading instruction such as that described previously, and for reinforcing and raising the levels of language competence of many teachers.

The provision of instruction aimed at the upper skill levels is ideally suited to distance learning. The students that can use such training are dispersed, and their needs are episodic and individualized. Centralized teaching centers that can provide such training, buttressed by opportunities for interaction with country-based native speakers, could make a major contribution.

Foreign languages and international studies. Over the past three decades, American campuses have developed an immense instructional capacity in what is called international studies. They comprise an array of courses and concentrations dealing with other countries of the world, study-abroad programs, and foreign language courses.[15] It is a curious fact that the links among these three components are quite weak, even on the same campus. In particular, the ties between foreign language instruction and substantive courses about the countries where those languages are spoken—except for literature course—are surprisingly weak. One reason for this situation is the relatively low level of language competence of American students. Another equally important limitation is that it is unrealistic to expect very many of the teachers skilled in the presentation of disciplinary subject matter to have the linguistic competence to teach in another language or even to effectively use foreign language materials. This is an area where centralized distance teaching materials delivered in supplemental modules might begin the process of linking language use to substantive learning in international studies.

DISTANCE LANGUAGE EDUCATION AS A CONTROLLED EXPERIMENT

In closing, a comment is in order on another way in which distance foreign language teaching can make a major contribution to foreign language instruction more generally. Foreign language pedagogy is becoming increasingly guided by informed research and evaluation that leads to curricular reform and improved teaching practice. Distance foreign language teaching provides some special opportunities for experimental and evaluative research that could not only provide information to guide practice within its own domain but also assist in answering some important questions for foreign language instruction more generally.

There is a great deal of evaluative research already in progress in distance learning. For instance, the Third Annual Conference on Teaching at a Distance was devoted to evaluation, and the proceedings of that conference contain a substantial number of seminal papers on that topic.[16] In fact, several specialized centers devote their attention to the evaluation of distance education. In spite of the fact that the legislation creating the hundred-million-dollar Star School project gave very little attention or funding to evaluation and research, most projects incorporated an evaluation component.[17] Most evaluations, however, deal with structural aspects of distance education other than foreign languages. When they do deal with language, they tend to consist of questionnaire surveys of student attitudes, censuses of student characteristics, or percentage comparisons of students who took distance versus classroom courses.[18] While providing interesting rationales for the legitimacy of distance learning, we surely need to move beyond that holistic debate. Our research needs to be much more carefully targeted. Few studies are concerned with specific aspects of the teaching-learning process, fewer still with the pedagogical aspects of distance education, let alone with respect to foreign language instruction, and almost none with the important question of how we can go beyond where we are now in both distance learning in foreign language teaching and the relationship of distance learning to the rest of foreign language instruction.

Yet it is such research that provides one natural linkage with the mainstream of foreign language instruction. Distance learning presents a whole set of natural experiments highlighting some of the general issues of the field. Here are a few examples of high-priority research and evaluation projects.

1. There are a large number of organizational innovations in distance learning. For one thing, the light shed on shared teaching resources through the extensive use of consortia and the linking of universities with high schools and corporations should be of general interest. Its organizational style of centralized language expertise with decreasing language competence as one travels through the several organizational layers between the principal teacher, the coordinators, the facilitators, and the student, provides a superb opportunity for determining just what the role of the language teacher is and how language expertise can be most effectively used. This question has important implications for staffing in general. For instance, the style of organization frequently found in large universities—an overseeing professor supervising a number of teaching assistants or native speakers, which sometimes represents another type of distance teaching—is hierarchical rather than spatial. An examination of the experience of distance foreign language instruction might also be instructive concerning how to maximize the usefulness of that scarcest of commodities, the actual interaction time that teachers spend with students both in classroom and in distance learning.

2. The usual mixing of science, math, and foreign languages in the same distance learning organizations allows for a useful examination of the special needs of language learning. Are they different from those two other disciplines? Does language learning's emphasis on learned motor skills, which are often proposed as the principal argument for live interaction between student and teacher, require different pedagogical and organizational strategies? On a campus, administrative and tribal divisions make such comparisons almost impossible. They can be easily managed in distance learning programs.

3. What are the best evaluation and feedback mechanisms for various stages of instruction? The desperate need for distance education to change according to student reactions and the mood of innovation and fresh curricular design make distance learning an ideal milieu for the development of fresh testing and feedback mechanisms.

4. How can the various levels of language instruction be articulated and made into a continuous stream so that students can move through them in a consistent and cumulative fashion? This is a central issue faced not just by distance teachers but by language program administrators in general. It takes on a special importance in distance

instruction because of its heavy emphasis on teaching at the high school level, particularly in preparing rural school students for college admission, but it is an issue of major national importance as well.

5. What kind of students best learn what aspects of language skills by which media and in which learning settings? Many distance learning programs, with their special emphasis on reaching schools and clienteles not normally fully served with language instruction, have already discovered that it is the best and the most motivated students who enroll in their courses. The question of why and how to provide language instruction to low-achieving, not highly motivated students with deficient study habits, a question facing all of foreign language education, is right up front in distance foreign language education.

These and many similar questions call for carefully directed and controlled research. Their answers are of major importance both for distance language teaching and for foreign language education in general. Such research can pave the way to a greater integration of distance learning with foreign language education more generally. We currently seem, however, to be too busy doing distance foreign language instruction to spend the time watching closely what we are doing. And alas, as in most of foreign language instruction, there are almost no resources to support such research.

NOTES

1. For an excellent recent overview of the full range of distance education, see U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, *Linking for Learning: A New Course for Education* (Washington, DC: Office of Technology Assessment, 1989).

2. Harry S. Wohlert, "German by Satellite," in *Electronic Links for Learning*, ed. Vivian M. Horner and Linda G. Roberts, vol. 514 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (March 1991), pp. 107–18.

3. For a discussion of this system, see Richard D. Lambert, *The National Foreign Language System, NFLC Occasional Papers* (Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center, June 1989).

4. See *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 511, *Foreign Language in the Workplace*, ed. Richard D. Lambert and Sarah Jane Moore (Sept. 1990).

5. There are some. For instance, the University of Wisconsin's College of Engineering has just begun a program in technical Japanese, which the college is offering to companies as well as individuals.

6. See Carol S. Fixman, *The Foreign Language Needs of U.S.-Based Corporations*, NFLC Occasional Papers (Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center, May 1989).

7. See Office of Technology Assessment, *Linking for Learning*, chap. 6, for a review of federal government programs.

8. See *Army Training 2007*, pamphlet no. 350-4 (Fort Monroe, VA: U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, 1990).

9. See Vincente Pasdeloup, "C-Span's Global Vision," *Cable World*, 13 Aug. 1990, p. 11.

10. See "The Creative Use of Computers in Quebec," *Teletraining*, 4(4):3–4 (May 1990).

11. For a listing of campus-based programs, see Sue Willis and Susan Bridwell, *Directory of Distance Education through Telecommunications: A Directory of NUCEA Institu-*

tions Utilizing Telecommunications in Distance Education (Washington, DC: National University Continuing Education Association, 1989).

12. It may be noted that German, the language taught through the Oklahoma State program, is also a language with, at best, stagnating enrollments, and in some schools and colleges it is in danger of replacement by Russian or Japanese.

13. See Bernice A. Cramer, "Developing Competitive Skills: How American Businesspeople Learn Japanese," in *Foreign Language in the Workplace*, ed. Lambert and Moore.

14. This investment amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars per year. For instance, one federal program alone, Higher Education Act Title VI, provides some $25 million annually in support of graduate-level centers where non-European languages are taught. The universities and states typically invest ten times as much of their own money in such studies. For a review of campus-based programs, see Richard D. Lambert, *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Washington, DC: Association of American Universities, 1984).

15. See Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1989).

16. See *Evaluation of Teaching/Learning at a Distance* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, School of Education, 1987).

17. See, for instance, Toby Levine, "SERC Demonstration Year Fall Profile Reports," mimeographed (Columbia, SC: Satellite Education Resources Consortium, Nov. 1989).

18. There are quite a few studies concentrated on individual learners. See, for instance, Carol Speth, Cherie Mercer, and John Poggio, "Distance Learning by Satellite: The Role of Individual Differences in Processing and Motivation" (Paper delivered at the Sixth Annual Conference on Distance Teaching/Learning, Madison, WI, 9 Aug. 1990).

5

A National Plan for a Use-Oriented Foreign Language System

For decades there has been a steady drumbeat of commentary lamenting America's devout monolingualism in a polyglot world.* By now all are aware that our society's comfortable nestling in its cocoon of English is immensely costly. We are handicapped in international business, in diplomacy, and in our scientific and technological relations with the rest of the world. We are embarrassed when we see on CNN how many people around the world speak our language well. Even allowing for the fact that English is a world language, the paucity of Americans who speak any other language well is a standing joke in international circles. Surely one of the priorities on our national agenda, one made more urgent by the increasing internationalization of our economy and our political system, is to create a more linguistically competent America.

THE NEED FOR NEW INITIATIVES

Over the past three decades important steps have been taken to improve our foreign language instructional system. It operates today considerably more effectively than it did twenty or thirty years ago. The trouble is that the steps taken—substantial improvements in the technology of language teaching, the upgrading of teachers' competencies, the spreading of requirements that more and more high school and college students take a year or two of Spanish, French, or German, the introduction at the margin of a few instructional programs for non-Western languages—are not enough. By themselves they will not produce more adults who can and do comfortably use a wider range of foreign languages in their work and in other parts of their daily lives. In particular, the connection between our school-based instructional system and actual adult use of a foreign language is at best indistinct. Our current system adopts the trickle-up theory: if enough students get some exposure to foreign language instruction while they are in school, then a substantial number of Americans will get, retain, and actually use a foreign language when they become adults. There is little evidence that this in fact happens.

I do not mean to undervalue the importance of continued investments in the basic infrastructure of foreign language instruction. Without such investments, it will be impossible to carry out the new use-oriented initiatives of the kind we are proposing at the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC). Nor do I mean to denigrate the skill and dedication of the many teachers who work to maintain and improve the current system or to belittle the important humanistic general education goals served by much of current foreign language instruction. However, if the current system is to expand adult foreign language competency and use, it needs both a change of perspective and a new organizational superstructure that will serve those needs more directly.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Position Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, June 1991).

Creating that superstructure to link our current foreign language educational system to adult use demands a coordinated national effort. It calls for a catalytic national plan, one that identifies the points of leverage in the current system that can make it more supportive of adult language use and adds new programs that will serve the needs of adult users of foreign languages when they arise.

INTEREST IN A NATIONAL PLAN

We at the NFLC are pleased to note that a number of professional foreign language associations, after initial resistance to the need for such a plan, are now joining in the effort to develop a national strategy. We also note that several members of Congress are interested in developing a forward-looking national plan and in deciding where national investments might most profitably be made. It is time to focus a national dialogue on what an adult-use-oriented national foreign language plan might be.

The NFLC was established to help make our foreign language system more responsive to national needs. Hence, since its founding many of the activities of the NFLC have been devoted to the development of just such a national plan. The NFLC has assembled and published a symposium of papers describing current developments in occupational foreign language training here and abroad. It has held meetings with representatives of various federal agencies and congressional advisory offices that inform the making of public policy and, upon request, has provided policy-relevant information and advice on foreign language instruction to congressional committees. It has delineated the various components of our national system, including the language teaching capacities of the federal government, commercial language schools, and our formal educational system. It has explored the demand for and utilization of foreign languages in the corporate, governmental, and academic worlds. It has followed the careers of students with high-level foreign language competencies who are training specifically for international business. It is working with the U.S. International Cultural and Trade Center to help meet the specific needs of business in foreign languages. In collaboration with representatives of federal agencies and corporate executives, it has begun the process of establishing consensus standards for commercial language schools. It has sponsored a detailed review of state policy with respect to foreign language instruction. Currently, the NFLC is initiating a national seminar to meet periodically specifically to discuss language policy issues.

In helping to develop a use-oriented national plan for foreign language instruction in the United States, the experience of other countries, particularly those in Europe, can be of great interest. Even allowing for the very different social and administrative framework in which language policy is developed in Europe, there is much we can learn. Typically, European plans heavily emphasize adult use of foreign languages of the kind we believe is appropriate for the American national plan we are proposing. Indeed, the European planning process often begins with a survey of adult use, and the plan itself integrates both adult and school-based language teaching programs into a single administrative framework.

To draw on this experience, the NFLC has made a special effort to bring the foreign language planning experience of other countries to the attention of American audiences. Officers of the NFLC have served as official observers and representatives of the United States in several language policy planning meetings of the Council of Europe. In addition, the NFLC has brought to the Center as fellows of our Institute of Advanced Studies a number of distinguished scholars who have been centrally involved in the creation of both plans for individual countries and the evolving transnational plans in Europe. These scholars have included leaders in the development of national plans for Australia, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, and for the multicountry plans of the Council of Europe and the European Community. The NFLC is systematically reviewing many of these plans and will publish analytic reports discussing their relevance to the American setting.

PROPOSED NATIONAL AGENDA

This research and consultation suggest that our national plan should include the following features:

Expansion of demand for foreign language skills. Europeans can take for granted an extensive and fully institutionalized demand for foreign language skills. What makes our foreign language educational system so artificial, so non-goal-directed, is that employer demand for such skills is modest at best. Currently, the largest and most organized market for foreign language skills is the federal government. Programs dedicated to increasing foreign language utilization in the private sector—business, engineering, health, science, journalism—are a first priority. Clearly, foreign language skills by themselves are not enough. They must be combined with the necessary technical skills to make them truly useful.

Expansion and systematization of adult language teaching services. We need to pay direct attention to strengthening our existing facilities for teaching foreign languages to adults. Aside from the federal government's language schools, proprietary language schools and self-tutoring now serve what little demand there is for adult language learning. In other countries such activities are either state sponsored or monitored, and they are integrated into the larger language teaching system. Yet these schools and self-tutoring courses are an important part of our national language instructional system. Some expansion and ordering of this section of our language teaching system are very much in order.

Creation of a system for foreign language skill reinforcement, rejuvenation, and upgrading. We expend almost all of our national resources for foreign language learning on first-time, low-level language learning among high school and college students, then watch those minimal skills decay and disappear through lack of use or reinforcement. If and when adults need foreign language skills, the only choice available is to start all over. This is immensely wasteful. We need a set of institutions that will reinforce and build upon past language learning.

Utilizing the language skills of immigrant communities as a national resource. It is absurd that we spend so much of our time and money giving monolingual Americans a foreign language competency while we make little use of and, indeed, work to displace non-English-language competencies within our immigrant communities. We need a well-thought-out plan for raising these competencies to a professionally useful level and adding the occupational skills to make them marketable.

Extending the technology of distance learning to occupational foreign language instruction. Corporations and the federal government have made immense strides in the development of electronic instruction at a distance for a large variety of skills. However, the only use made of such technology in foreign language instruction is to replicate the classroom for students not otherwise served. The use of technology for providing on-site and on-demand foreign language instruction for occupational use is an obvious next step. Some of the hundreds of millions of dollars of federal funds spent under the STAR school program for the expansion of distance learning in high schools could be shifted to be used by dispersed learners in business, science, and other occupations.

Providing specialized language services. Not all adult needs require a fully developed foreign language competency. Business particularly requires more partial, more occasional services such as translation and interpreting. Large corporations and the federal government can meet these needs in-house or through the use of commercial services. They can also experiment with machine translation, a development in which the Japanese and Germans are far ahead of us. Most corporations and adults, however, have nowhere to go for occasional foreign language services. Other countries officially sponsor and regulate providers of such services. We should consider whether this makes sense in the American context.

On campuses, developing the foreign language competencies of the faculty and students outside of the foreign language departments. We will make little progress in adding a use orientation to our system of foreign language instruction unless the place where most of that instruction is given—the university or college campus—becomes a place where foreign language use is common. This will not happen until first the faculty and then the students in a full range of academic disciplines, particularly the applied and professional disciplines, are themselves foreign language competent, and use those competencies in their teaching and professional work. Overcoming the institutional and personal impediments to this transformation is both exceedingly difficult and of high national importance if we are to make a long-term advance in promoting use-oriented foreign language instruction.

Concentrating on high-level foreign language skills. One of the most important hurdles in promoting adult, particularly occupational, use of foreign languages is that relatively few students get enough language training to make it really usable. With a few exceptions, our current foreign language system concentrates on providing a large number of students with a year or two of foreign language. Frustrated language teachers know very well that this is just a beginning, but about 50 percent of students stop taking foreign languages after the first year and another 50 percent after the second year. Most advanced classes beyond the third year are taken by foreign language majors and focus on the study of literature. Moreover, the various layers of the educational system that would make foreign language learning cumulative for the individual learner are only very loosely articulated so that it is difficult for a learner to be exposed to consistent training throughout his/her foreign language learning career. The drive for extending one- or two-year foreign language requirements to more and more students does not solve this set of basic problems. A very high priority is the development of an integrated but flexible system so that we can provide a truly high level of foreign language skills to at least a subset of students who will use them as adults.

Tying language learning to foreign experience. It is difficult if not impossible to gain a high level of skill in foreign languages without some exposure to that language in the country where it is spoken. European plans for developing use-oriented foreign language instruction are linked to imaginative programs for sending large numbers of university students—the target is 10 percent of all students, with an emphasis on applied and professional students—to study in other countries. To qualify for those programs, students must attain a usable skill level in the language of the country before they go. Our own study abroad programs tend to reach only a small proportion of our students and to leave out students majoring in professionally oriented disciplines who might use a foreign language competency in their occupations. Moreover, we tend to send our students to English-speaking countries. When they do go to other countries, too many students have too low a level of foreign language competency to get maximal advantage out of their foreign sojourn. And, of course, we have no study abroad programs for non-college students. We need a national plan to make study abroad serve more fully our national foreign language needs.

Broadening the spectrum of foreign languages available for adult and occupational use. Language instruction both in our formal educational system and in the proprietary schools that serve adult and occupational use is devoted overwhelmingly to the Western European languages. Yet it is not difficult to predict that the frontiers of our international economic and political involvements will be outside of Western Europe. Over the past thirty years, we have built up a substantial national capacity to teach many of the languages of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, a capacity unmatched in any other country. But instruction in most languages is confined largely to the training of graduate-level specialists or the federal government language schools. Neither is of much service to general occupational or adult use. Surely this capacity to teach such a large variety of languages is a major national resource that gives us a competitive advantage over the rest of the world. Making it available beyond the graduate-oriented programs in the research universities and the federal language schools and linking it to adult and occupational training is an obvious task for a national plan.

EXISTING USE-ORIENTED LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

These, then, are some possible items in a national agenda for a use-oriented foreign language educational system. I do not mean to imply that these items are new or that there are no individual programs already in place addressing these issues. A few programs already exemplify use-oriented foreign language instruction. Harvard has a program tying foreign language use to general education courses. Earlham ties language learning during study abroad to use in substantive course work after the student's return. The Wharton School's Lauder Institute of International Management both demands high-level language skills for admission and stresses the use of such skills in its courses on international business. Ten of the leading American engineering schools have created a consortium to blend foreign language training and foreign study into the education of engineers. The University of Maryland engages American students in transnational, electronic-mediated live dialogues in which the need for a mastery of a foreign language grows out of the need to communicate ideas. Various area studies programs provide foreign language instruction with the full expectation that it will be used occupationally by their graduates. The Monterey Institute of International Studies and a number of college and university continuing education programs already provide language training specifically for business executives. Multimedia courses in Japanese for engineers and for scientists are being prepared at Cornell and MIT with the help of the National Science Foundation. AT&T has introduced a national system making translators and interpreters available by telephone.

COORDINATING AND SUPPLEMENTING

All these scattered programs are evidence of a beginning in the development of use-oriented language instruction. These widely scattered and disparate ventures need to be made more coordinated, more collectively purposeful. What we need is a national plan that nurtures and builds upon these existing initiatives and develops a collective strategy for creating a rational and effective use-oriented foreign language educational system. We must begin not only with what we have in foreign language instruction but with what foreign language competencies adult Americans will need in the next century. Then we can put in place the fresh institutions and instructional goals we need.

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Language Policy: An International Perspective

National language policy, a broad topic that encompasses phenomena as varied as pidgins and creoles, early language learning, in-company language policy, and the linguistic consequences of the Acte Unique Europeén, defies attempts at summary and synthesis.* Yet all of these subjects and many more are crammed under a single rubric. I will delimit the topic somewhat by directing my remarks to issues concerning state policy which involve more than one language (what might be called multilanguage policy), leaving aside issues relating to a single language (what might be called unilanguage policy), such as the improvement of pedagogical styles, the spread of literacy, or the purification and maintenance of a standard language.

Within multilanguage policy are two different frames of reference. The first concerns the teaching of languages that are exogenous to the society. The second concerns the teaching of languages used as mother tongues by important segments of the society. The former I will refer to as foreign language policy, and the latter as ethnic language policy as it relates to indigenous diversity. These terms are both a little inexact and overlapping. For instance, French is both ethnic and foreign in Canada, as is English in Hong Kong or Africa. However, the dynamics and the outcome of the two different language policy orientations are quite different. Indeed, in the voluminous literature on language policy they comprise two very different genres. Each article or book, each feature of language policy, tends to proceed from one or the other orientation, rarely both. The separation of policy with respect to instruction in Spanish in the United States as a foreign language issue and as an ethnic language issue is a case in point. Another is the difference between the Council of Europe's Recommendation 928 (1981) on the Educational and Cultural Problems of Minority Languages and Dialects in Europe[1] and Recommendation No. R (82) 18 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States concerning Modern Languages.[2] The first deals primarily with ethnic language policy, the second with foreign language policy. I will deal with the topics in that order.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, September 1990). This paper was presented as the keynote address of the Language Policy Group at the Etats Généraux des Langues International Symposium on Language Learning, Paris, April 1989.

ETHNIC LANGUAGE POLICY

No aspect of language policy is quite so troublesome, quite so pervasive, and quite so difficult to deal with as the crafting of an acceptable solution to competing claims of champions of different language communities within a society. While from the policy viewpoint these competing claims appear as language issues—which languages will be given official approval, support, and use—their center of gravity lies outside of language in the pattern of institutionalized competition and conflict among ethnic groups. And such conflict, with its implications for language policy, is almost universal.

To illustrate, we need only recall the news accounts of ethnic or racial violence in Lebanon, South Africa, Yugoslavia, China, Armenia, Turkey, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, India, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In fact, the longest, most continuous conflict between the same two opponents in the world is an ethnic conflict—the battle between the Tamils and the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. And if we spread the net a little wider to include not just violent but quieter forms of social conflict, the ubiquity and durability of ethnic competition and conflict are even more apparent.

Not all of these ethnic conflicts involve language. For instance, issues of race relations in the United States, the Protestant-Catholic controversy in Northern Ireland, the Sikh-Hindu controversy in the Punjab, and the neo-Buddhist movement in Maharashtra have little or no language base. However, most ethnic conflicts do. And even where there is no overt conflict, in many countries the symbolic role of language as a counter in the competition of ethnic groups for relative status brings linguistic issues directly into the political process. Take as examples the bitter battle for the separation of Urdu from Hindi in the drive for the creation of Pakistan, the contrasting fortunes of French in Belgium and Quebec, and the enforcement of the mother tongue policy in South Africa. The linguistic symbols of success in ethnic competition are almost universal: the language used by the head of state, in the legislature, in the courts, in government offices, in government documents, in the armed forces, in the various levels of the educational system, in the printed media, on street signs, etc.

In some cases the linguistic aspects of ethnic relations are expressed in open conflict; in others they are managed peaceably within a political system. How they are managed depends upon the particular configuration of ethnic groups in a society. Many variables must be kept in mind in classifying the relevant ethnolinguistic relationships. Three of those variables are: (1) polarity—the number of important linguistically different groups in the society; (2) status—the extent and nature of the relative social ranking of the groups; and (3) territoriality—the extent to which linguistic groups are rooted in geographically defined domains.

Polarity

The first variation in ethnic configuration that affects official language policy is polarity, the number of socially important ethnic units in a society. The most comfortable situation, of course, is ethnic homogeneity, but relatively few countries have this luxury—only 12 countries are populated by a single ethnic group. Another 25 are more than 90 percent homogeneous. The most common pattern is a dominant majority and one or more sizable minorities for whom linguistic survival is a constant battle. However, the bitterest linguistic conflicts arise in what might be called ethnically binary societies, those that are relatively equally divided between two ethnolinguistic groups. Examples of such societies are the English-speaking and French-speaking parts of Canada, the Walloons and the Flemish in Belgium, Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia, and in former times Urdu and Bengali speakers in West and East Pakistan respectively. Tripartite societies such as Switzerland and Singapore have many of the same problems. Linguistic conflicts are extremely difficult to solve in such societies.

In a large percentage of the societies of the world, the population is ethnically divided in a such a way that no one or two groups comprise a majority of the population, and in 40 percent of the countries of the world there are more than five significant ethnic minorities. These "mosaic" societies—for instance, India and many of the countries of Africa—have different problems of linguistic policy. The predominant language policy problem in states with a large number of ethnic languages is the search for a lingua franca and the promotion of its use instead of or alongside local languages. A special variety of mosaic societies comprise the former colonial countries of Africa, where an exogenous language introduced by colonialists serves as a lingua franca for elites, but its spread throughout the society is limited. Historically, linguistic policy in the former colonies depended upon who the colonizers were. The French and the Portuguese were generally in favor of blending the metropolitan and the colonial societies and discouraged the teaching of African languages in schools. The British and the Belgians favored separate development of indigenous populations but encouraged the teaching of indigenous languages, although the British set up an elaborate system of English for elites and those destined to work in or with the European sector. The Germans were in favor of teaching German in schools.[3] No matter what the policy, the diffusion of the colonial language to many sections of the society was never very great. Nonetheless, many of the former colonial countries wind up using the colonial language, at least temporarily, as a neutral common language, but this choice runs counter to a number of local pressures: the need to draw more and more students into the educational system at the primary level and, even more particularly in adult literacy classes, the absence of large numbers of teachers adequately trained in the colonial language; and the nationalistic sentiments that point to the suppression of indigenous cultures. All of these make the continued use of the colonial language as the lingua franca problematic.

The more common case is for ex-colonial countries, as well as many other multilingual countries, to try to establish one of the indigenous languages as a lingua franca. Examples of this are attempts to spread Hindi in India,[4] Swahili in Kenya,[5] and Yoruba in Nigeria.[6] Such attempts inevitably arouse all of the anxieties inherent in ethnic competition and become almost impossible to implement. The usual solution to the problem is to layer language instruction in the schools so that the medium of instruction in pre- and early primary school is the local ethnic language, and another ethnic language and/or a lingua franca is introduced later, first as an object of study, then as a medium of instruction. The deliberate introduction of the lingua franca into the education system generally starts somewhere between the fourth and sixth year, but the long-term tendency is to retain instruction in the ethnic language at a higher and higher educational level.

Status

Relationships among languages are rarely neutral. There is always a stratification grain to them: one is defined as socially superior to others. Historically, this social superiority was supported by the state: the language of the socially dominant group was the language of the state. This group, as South Africa and other countries of Africa remind us, need not be numerically predominant. It is enough for that group to combine high status with the control of the government.

The state's defense of the dominant language against decay is, of course, the classic posture of dominant language communities throughout history. A contemporary example of language policy in the service of the dominant language is the English-only movement in the United States. In Canadian national language policy, the case of Quebec is a typical struggle to shore up the French language against absorption by dominant English. However, official language policy within the province of Quebec confines the use of English to a narrower and narrower scope, attempting to drive it into a low status. Sometimes a language identified with a dominant group has to be artificially nurtured, as in the adoption of Irish Gaelic as the official language of Ireland in spite of the small (3 percent at independence) and diminishing number (less than 1 percent now) in the Irish population who speak Gaelic at home.[7] The battle to elevate the official use of Flemish in Belgium reflects the shift in the relative economic and political importance of Wallonia and Flanders.

While the use of state policy to support a dominant language is characteristic of many societies, in many others governmental policy is officially neutral. However, de facto ethnic language policy in such situations tends to be ambivalent. On the one hand, the state endeavors to defend the social dominance or linguistic purity of a national language—most countries have official or quasi-official organizations for this purpose. On the other, the state defends the rights of ethnic minorities to retain their own languages. Often national linguistic policy alternates in different time periods between the two emphases. Soviet language policy has long displayed this ambivalence between promoting the expansion of Russian as a national language and alternatively promoting and discouraging the use of minority languages. Chinese language policy has some of the same inconsistencies in, say, Tibet.

Territoriality

Ethnic pressures tend to dominate national language policy when blood, language, and territory are combined. One example of a territorially rooted ethnolinguistic problem for state policy is what might be called a heartland vs. fringe area linguistic relationship. Historically, as nation-states grew up in Europe, a linguistically homogeneous heartland expanded but never fully absorbed a few outlying linguistically distinct enclaves, creating what might be called the linguistic fringe model of ethnolinguistic relations. The Bretons in France, the Basques between Spain and France, and the Welsh in Great Britain are examples of fringe groups existing at the same level of modernity as the central society but resisting full linguistic absorption. In other cases, such fringe linguistic groups may be thought of as cultural fossils. They often retain premodern life styles: tribal peoples living in inhospitable fringes of modern societies, such as North American and South American Indians, Laplanders, aboriginals in Australia, and mountain, desert and frigid zone dwellers almost everywhere. Such minorities are fighting not only linguistic but cultural absorption as well, and language becomes a major symbol of separate identity.

The ethnolinguistic fringe group problem is only one manifestation of more general issues that arise when differences in language coincide with differences in territory. The problem of dialect differences vs. a standard language is almost always a territorially rooted conflict. In fact, this union of language and geography is so ingrained in our thinking about language policy that it may be useful to juxtapose two situations where the tie of language to territory has historically been quite different. In the United States, with a few exceptions such as the Germans in Wisconsin, the traditional pattern of ethnic politics involves a very limited coincidence of language and territory. Until recently, in America ethnic groups have been geographically dispersed. Their territorial base was overseas, and they had no homeland within the United States with which they identified. Within the United States, the predominant historical pattern was for linguistically distinct immigrant groups to move into one or another metropolitan entry point, followed by quick geographic dispersal throughout the country. Hence, the United States was able to deal with ethnic minorities as dispersed, not territorially concentrated, interest groups. Except in urban politics, the ethnolinguistic minorities did not capture large politically defined regions. Accordingly, there were few demands for a pluralistic national language policy. In fact, language policy did not figure at all in early debates about the appropriate form of government for the United States.

This lack of territoriality in ethnolinguistic relations is now changing in the United States. The influx and geographic concentration of Hispanic populations in particular regions of the country, especially their approaching numerical predominance in California and Florida, have given rise to a new national debate as to whether official language policy ought to be multilingual rather than monolingual as it is now.

Until recently, the older American pattern of geographically diffused ethnolinguistic relations was different from the predominant pattern in Europe and most of the rest of the world. Most multiethnic societies are partitioned into a number of territorially concentrated linguistic units. Hence, in the creation of the nation-state most national language policies had to deal with territorially defined language communities. In recent years, however, the European pattern has begun to approximate the American model. The influx of immigrant and guest worker communities has introduced into Europe an ethnolinguistic process similar to the traditional American one: initial concentration of linguistic minorities in entry metropolises, then partial diffusion throughout the society. Old European solutions to ethnolinguistic problems that were based on political accommodation to the demands of different geographic units do not work in such situations.

What were those solutions? Where ethnic language policy must deal with territorially defined linguistic units and relatively few important minorities exist within the society, territorial differentiation can be used as part of the political solution. This usually takes the form of some type of consociationalism, that is, a federated system that devolves political power from the center to the linguistically defined constituent territories. Relations among constituent territories are then governed by elaborate rules for division and sharing of power on the part of the different elites. Ethnic language policy is held hostage to the political juggling of ethnic power. So long as the elites remain in power and their accommodations are accepted by the populace, peace can be maintained. In recent years, with the loss of legitimacy of traditional elites and the introduction of popular mobilization models in politics, the consociational solution has broken down.

Moreover, the consociational solution is of limited value in most societies. There are too many ethnolinguistic groups. Forty percent of the countries of the world have five or more significant ethnic groups residing within their borders, too many to allow for a territorially based balance of power among elites. Such multilanguage societies, what I call mosaic societies, have great difficulty in making the consociational model work. However, as yet there is no clear alternative model, although some societies are engaged in interesting experiments. One worth examining is taking place in India, where the number of linguistically distinct groups is immense. Depending on how they are counted, the number of languages can exceed one hundred, of which almost all are territorially based. There are fourteen official languages whose distribution by and large coincides with state boundaries. India has tried to invent a special form of the consociational model in what is known as the three-language formula. In this formula, the major languages are grouped into language families: Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, spoken in the north and the south sections of India. Students in the Hindi-speaking area are to study Hindi, English (the colonial language), and another modern Indian language (preferably a South Indian language). Students in the south are to learn the regional language, English, and Hindi. In ethnopolitical terms this is an attempt to use language affinity to combine many linguistic groups into two large territorially defined units so that a consociational model can be created.

Also interesting is the Soviet Union's formal view of itself as a consociational model with its representative government based upon linguistically homogeneous units. It is the communist party that is to provide the overarching arena for negotiations among the various elites. The past decades, however, have borne witness to the difficulty of sustaining this position in the face of the perception widely shared in the borderland linguistic units that they are in a situation better described as heartland fringe with its notion of dominant vs. minority languages than in a true consociational society in which all languages are equal.

In summary, the world is looking for new models that will deal with the special problems of societies with different types of polarity, different status gradients, and different combinations of linguistic differentiation and territory. Political peace in many nations depends upon the successful invention of such models.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE POLICY

In dealing with the competing demands of internal linguistic minorities, the government is in a reactive mode, responding to social dynamics that lie in the society. Linguistic policy is hostage to ethnic politics. Foreign language policy, in contrast, involves a different set of decisions by the state. In formulating policy to induce or enable citizens to master languages of other countries, the state is in a proactive policy mode, trying to add to or sustain a national competency in the language(s) of another country. While this may seem a straightforward matter of deciding what foreign languages should be taught in school, if one starts with the point of view that it is adult level competencies in foreign languages that the state is trying to produce, the situation is much more complex.

Here I will sketch in some of the broad domains in which foreign language policy planning must take place. A number of excellent reviews of European foreign language policy are available in the literature.[8] I will add the perspective of the American system, which, with its highly decentralized educational system, lack of centralized administrative control, and relatively low commitment to foreign language instruction, provides an interesting comparative perspective to the situation in Europe. However, many of the categories used by Theo van Els[9] and in the publications emerging from the Council on Europe's Project 12[10] fit the American case and that of other countries as well.

I will confine my remarks to what might be called architecture and teleology rather than instructional style. In the United States and, I believe, elsewhere, many if not most of the problems of foreign language instruction are the result not of poor classroom instructional techniques—a topic to which the profession devotes almost all of its attention—but of ambiguities and inefficiencies in the organization of foreign language instruction and unanswered questions about its purpose that limit the effectiveness of even the most gifted teacher, using the most effective teaching technology, teaching the brightest students. The problems arise not so much in individual classrooms, but in the way the parts fit together and what language instruction is all about.

Planning for a National System

The first step in the formulation of a national foreign language policy is charting the ways in which the many different activities and organizations engaged in foreign language instruction add up to a de facto national system and determining the extent to which that system serves the national needs.[11] This national system is not coterminous with the formal educational system, although that seems to be where the attention of the public and the government is directed. For instance, the National Foreign Language Center is currently trying to map out all parts of the U.S. national system for teaching Japanese and Russian. In doing so, we have discovered three very separate components of our national system: (1) the formal educational system, that is, schools, colleges, and universities; (2) a very substantial network of language training schools serving government employees; and (3) a vast array of commercial language schools that provide instruction for corporate executives, for other occupational use, or for individual adults who may have some nonoccupational reason for learning a language. There is an additional sector that might be called the language service sector—translating, interpreting, communications, information processing and storage, foreign language publishing, testing, teacher and program certification, and the like—that is not engaged in language instruction. I will not deal with these matters here, although they too should be addressed by national foreign language policy. Charting even the three different instructional systems dramatizes several overall policy issues.

Discontinuities among the Systems

First, in U.S. society, and I suspect in others, the three foreign language instructional systems have almost nothing to do with each other. They tend to be entirely separate in such matters as clientele, teaching personnel, curriculum, teaching materials, timing, skill level reached, resources, standards, administration, etc. In the United States, there is very little carryover of skills taught to the learner from one segment to the other, and the different instructional systems usually present the learner with a radical shift in pedagogical style.

While government tends to direct its attention exclusively to the formal educational system, in fact the latter two components, particularly what might be called the informal sector, comprise a substantial portion of the national investment in language instruction and learning. This informal sector plays a significant role in foreign language instruction not only in the United States but in many Western European countries, where television courses aimed at adults, proprietary chains such as Berlitz, Inlingua, or Eurocentres, and corporate, even union, language schools add substantially to national resources for foreign language instruction. The summertime flood of private students to the English coast or to France for language lessons is a major industry, and similar overseas language learning experiences such as those planned for Inlingua must be added in as well.

Surely, a truly national foreign language policy will include this chaotic world of proprietary vendors of foreign language instruction. It should also include any intragovernmental language training facilities as well. It is interesting to note that a survey of this "language industry," particularly its high technology sector, is under way in Europe. Other countries embarking on language policy planning should watch these developments carefully. I know of no inventory of intragovernmental programs to parallel this. And the Americans have only begun to map out the informal and governmental systems.

Goal Orientation

One of the reasons why the government and the proprietary language schools are of interest is that they represent the segment of the national system that provides foreign language competencies for actual, usually immediate, use. The formal educational system is only loosely tied to such use through a general notion of adult utilization of foreign language skills. In various societies, this notion of adult use of foreign languages is of greater or lesser realism. The contrast between Europe and the United States in this regard is quite striking. In Europe the formal educational system can operate on the assumption that a large number of adults will have occasion to utilize a language other than their mother tongue. This presumption means that there need be no debate about implicit goals for language learning. There is, of course, a debate about which languages to offer, but such devices as needs surveys[12] and the emergence of English as the language of international communication influence the choice of languages. However, no matter which languages are chosen, the ubiquity of this presumed need for frequent adult use of foreign languages makes the formal educational system the logical place to deliver this instruction for all citizens.

The American situation is patently different from that in Europe. As a society we are not constantly bombarded by communications in foreign languages, so that the usefulness of foreign language competencies for very general purposes is not self-evident to the American public. Very few of us routinely read literature, listen to the radio, watch television, go to the movies, or speak with friends in other languages. Hence, the overriding feature of foreign language instruction in the United States is that it operates in a climate of very limited utilization of foreign language skills by adults and, as I will note, a limited occupational demand for the linguistic skills of those Americans who do attain foreign language competencies. Overall, we are a devoutly monolingual society, wishing we were linguistically homogeneous internally and expecting, even demanding, that citizens of other countries speak English when they want to communicate with us.

Part of the problem for American foreign language teachers is that foreigners accede to our wishes. The willingness of elites in the rest of the world to learn English is both a boon and a curse to us. Indeed, without that willingness—and it is not likely to last forever—we would not just be economically noncompetitive, we would be out of the game. If Japanese were not so difficult a language to learn, English as the lingua franca might be facing a challenge even now.

Given the prevalence of English abroad and the lack of a tradition of normal adult use of foreign languages in the United States, the implicit rationale for the study of foreign languages in the American setting is weak. Relatively few adult Americans will have an opportunity to use a foreign language skill if they do acquire it in school, and most of them will watch it erode into distant memory as the years go by. In view of this situation, Americans do not share the Europeans' strong cultural assumption that the formal educational system should be permeated by foreign language instruction.

Nor, in spite of our frequent sermons about the danger our English language blinders pose to our international competitiveness, have we convinced many business employers that they should seek out and hire those who have a foreign language competency. It is clear that most American business people, particularly those managing multinational corporations, do not see foreign language competency as an important attribute for their employees. When they do think they need it, they tend to view language competency as a commodity which they can buy at the appropriate time. It is not viewed as a cumulative skill built up over many years like managerial skills. Hence, the link between business interests and the formal educational system of language instruction is very weak. And what is true for business is also true for most other occupations where one might expect to find an effective demand for foreign language competency.

The European assumption of a diffuse demand for foreign language competency for all educated adults makes unnecessary the search for occupational utilization as a specific motivator of foreign language study. The problem of goals, however, emerges in two other ways. First, the general argument for adult use leads to multiyear requirements that all students must study a foreign language. Many students do not find this argument of future adult use persuasive or relevant to their view of their own future. This becomes increasingly clear as educational systems reach toward universal access and the social class level of the student body extends further down the hierarchy. Thus the rationale of assumed adult use provides very weak motivation for many individual students to learn a foreign language thoroughly. The world's educational systems are full of half-hearted foreign language learners who, in spite of the best efforts of gifted pedagogues, drive the level of instruction and skill acquisition way down for all students.

In the United States, the pressure for foreign language requirements is constantly at war with student apathy and resistance. In general, relatively few students stay with language learning long enough to reach the point of mastery. In both high school and colleges the attrition rate of students in the various levels is both uniform and alarming. Only 50 percent of students enrolled in first-year classes go on to take a second year, and only 50 percent of those in second year classes go on to a third year. In short, the American educational system is teaching a lot of students a little bit of foreign language and relatively few students enough to enable them to use it. One result of this truncated learning system is an emphasis on the cultural broadening features which are presumed to flow from foreign language instruction rather than the attainment of genuinely usable skills.

In other countries, where requirements are universal, student apathy and resistance can lead to debased classroom instruction and low levels of language skills at the end of many years' study. For language teachers, this situation presents a cruel paradox. On the one hand, they know that the mastery of a foreign language requires many years of study, particularly if it is just one component in a curriculum jammed with other subjects. Hence, requiring the learner to invest the necessary time in spite of sagging enthusiasm is deemed necessary. However, the entire process is corrupted by the necessary compromises required to move all students through the system both in the United States and elsewhere in the world. Western countries are not the only ones with this problem. In Japan, for instance, driving large numbers of high school students to learn English when many of them know that they will not gain entrance into the highly selective universities and the international elite is a tedious and unrewarding task.

WHICH LANGUAGES TO TEACH

The two streams of language policy come together in my final topic. In most countries the demands of ethnic and foreign language policy result in a heavy layering of language learning on students during their school years. At one extreme is the United States, in which neither ethnic nor foreign language policy is much guided by current national needs. Since utilization is not the goal of language learning, it really does not matter what language is learned. The languages studied are a by-product of who the teachers are, and they are overwhelmingly concentrated in a few Western European languages. In the United States in 1986, of total foreign language enrollments of 1,003,234 in college and 4,553,012 in high school, 411,293 college students and 2,334,404 high school students were studying Spanish; 275,338 and 1,133,725 were studying French; and 121,022 and 312,162 were studying German in college and high school respectively. In all the other languages 195,591 students were enrolled in college classes and 772,721 in high school classes. At first glance, the dominance of Spanish as the language of first choice by students might appear to be driven by the large and increasing Hispanic minority in the United States. This, in fact, plays a very small role. To a greater extent it is a testimonial to low motivation for language learning. Much more important to heavy enrollment is the general belief among students that Spanish is easier to learn than French and certainly easier than

German. Moreover, there is little rational guidance in the selection of languages to be found in the concerns of American foreign policy. In terms of relevance of foreign language competencies to the future foreign relations of the United States, the current distribution of foreign language enrollments makes little sense.

Language policy in most European countries does not deal with the choice of a single foreign language—more and more it tends to be English—but debate centers on the second and the third languages to be studied and varies by level of education. Here are a few examples in different countries:

> *Belgium*. Children in primary school learn one official language [Dutch, French, or German] besides their own. At secondary school they can learn three languages, depending on the type of school.
>
> *Federal Republic of Germany*. The arrangements differ in various Lander. In general, pupils learn one foreign language in Hauptschule, two at Realschule, with the option of the third at Gymnasium.
>
> *Luxembourg*. The medium of instruction at primary school is initially Luxembourgish. German is taught from the first year and French from the second year. Within a short period of time most subjects are taught in German. Almost half of the teaching periods in primary school are devoted to the three official languages.
>
> In the first year of general secondary school, pupils continue to learn French and German. In the second year they choose between the modern stream (which includes English) and the classical stream (which includes Latin from the second year and English from the third).
>
> In the second phase, pupils in the language stream continue with French, German and English and take up Italian and Spanish in addition. In secondary education, French gradually replaces German as the medium of instruction.[13]

This heavy load of language learning is mindboggling to an American.

The passages illustrate the mixture of ethnic and foreign language considerations in the setting of language policy in Europe. The determination of which languages to offer or require is usually settled in an additive fashion, that is, both ethnic and foreign language demands are met. The policy in Luxembourg is the purest example of that mixture. In addition, with the emergence of English as a world language, educational systems must either displace or add on to their traditional language learning requirements. Many do both with an unknown but undoubtedly substantial cost in student motivation.

The pressures for the addition of what might be called fringe languages differ in the two continents as well. In Europe, driven by the need to expand linguistic talents more evenly throughout the European Community, the fringe languages tend to be the languages of countries on the southern flank of Europe—Spanish, Italian, and Greek—and perhaps one or another of the immigrant or guest worker languages. What are sometimes called in Europe "the little languages"—that is, non-European languages such as Japanese, Chinese, and Arabic—tend to be confined to specialized learners at the university level. In the United States, the greatest expansion is taking place in some of these languages. Japanese, for instance, is undergoing a massive expansion. Enrollments have tripled in the last three years, and many more high schools are offering instruction in that language.

In this paper I have been able to cover only a few of the factors influencing language policy. I have stressed both the separate and the interlocking effects of ethnic and foreign language decision making. I hope that further transnational examination of these and other cross-cutting issues will contribute to the further development of the discipline of comparative language policy analysis.

NOTES

1. Council of Europe, Report of the Committee on Culture and Education, Assembly Debate on 7 October 1981 (18th sitting), Document 4745.

2. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 24 September 1983 at the 350th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies of the Council of Europe.

3. J. Spencer, "Colonial Language Policies and Their Legacies," in T. A. Sebeok, ed., *Linguistics in Sub-Sahara Africa*, Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. 7 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 537–47.

4. Government of India, *National Policy on Education* (1986).

5. Diana Crampton, "Language Policy in Kenya," *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata* 13, no. 3 (September–December 1986): 109–21.

6. Ayo Bogambose, "Education in Indigenous Languages: The West African Model of Language Education," *Journal of Negro Education* 52, no. 1 (1983): 57–64.

7. Ralph Fasold, "What National Languages Are For," FL 016239 (Washington, D.C.: ERIC, July 1985).

8. See, for instance, Theo van Els and Guus Extra, "Foreign and Second Language Teaching in Western Europe: A Comparative Overview of Needs, Objectives and Policies," *International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics* (Tubingen, 1987), 100–25.

9. Theo van Els, "Toward a Foreign Language Teaching Policy in the European Community: A Dutch Perspective," *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 1, no. 1 (1988): 53–65.

10. D. Girard and J. Trim, eds., *Project 12: Learning and Teaching Modern Languages for Communication: Final Report of the Project Group (Activities 1982–87)* (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, 1988).

11. A description of the American system is these terms is contained in Richard D. Lambert, *The National Foreign Language System*, NFLC Occasional Papers (National Foreign Language Center, June 1989).

12. See Theo van Els and Marie Oud-de Glas, eds., *Research into Language Needs* (Augsburg: Universitat, 1983), and R. Ricterich, *Case Studies in Identifying Language Needs* (London: Pergamon, 1983).

13. M. C. Holscher, "Foreign Languages in Secondary Education: Policy on Foreign Languages in Secondary Education in the European Community and Scandinavia" (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1988).

7

Language Instruction for Undergraduates in American Higher Education

The following article presents some of the results of national review of international studies in undergraduate education which has just been published by the American Council on Education.* In addition to foreign language instruction, that survey covered a fuller range of international studies activities, including study abroad, internationally focused majors and minors, individual courses relating to other countries, and the internationalization of the general campus context. Herein is the section of the report that deals with foreign language instruction.

The data on which the findings are based are as follows:

1. Questions on prior foreign language courses in the ACE/UCLA annual survey of all freshmen entering colleges and universities in the fall of 1986.[1]
2. Questions on institutions' international education programs and foreign language instruction inserted in ACE's annual Higher Education Panel Report for 1986.[2]
3. A special mail questionnaire survey of foreign language and international studies in 398 universities and four-year and two-year colleges in a sample drawn at random from the ACE's nationally representative Higher Education Panel.[3]
4. Results of site visit interviews and detailed questionnaires filled out by presidents, provosts or deans, and chairs of foreign language departments in a purposive sample of 47 institutions.
5. An analysis of 10,467 internationally focused course offerings in a subset of 42 institutions.
6. An analysis of 8,439 transcripts comprising a random sample of students graduating in 1986 from 34 institutions in the site visit sample.
7. Responses to a general request for information sent to the presidents of all higher education institutions in the United States.

Data sources 3, 4, and 5 comprise neither random nor strictly representative samples. The institutions were picked to assure representation of different geographic regions, different institutional levels, public vs. private ownership, religious and secular management, and assured the inclusion of both traditionally black institutions and several institutions renowned fo‹ their achievements in international studies. Because of the purposive, non-random nature of the selection process, no estimates of statistical error are presented, but it is likely that any bias is upward—that is, the data present an institutional profile in which international studies is slightly more fully represented than in a representative national sample.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, September 1990). This article originally appeared in *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989).

Most of the tables in the report are given by type of institution following a classification adapted from one used by the National Center for Educational Statistics. Universities have a wide variety of doctoral-level programs. Comprehensive institutions have strong and diverse graduate programs but a limited number of doctoral programs. Baccalaureate institutions provide primarily general undergraduate, four-year education. Two-year institutions offer few if any four-year degree programs.

OVERVIEW

One of the principal challenges facing foreign language instruction on our campuses is to make it fully responsive to changing national needs. At present this relationship is ambiguous and unattended. A second challenge is to consolidate planning for foreign language instruction and international studies. If the purpose of international studies is to teach students about other parts of the world, and if one of the primary purposes of foreign language and literature courses is to introduce students to other cultures, then by all objective standards such instruction is, indeed, a part of international studies. In fact, on many campuses foreign-language-related courses make up the bulk of internationally oriented instruction.

It is a curious fact that this link between international studies and foreign languages, which to an outsider seems so obvious, is on many campuses not so fully perceived. This is particularly true among the foreign language faculty who, on many campuses, had remarkably little contact or shared interest with other faculty engaged in teaching non-language-oriented courses dealing with other parts of the world. It is also true administratively. Foreign language instruction rarely falls within the responsibilities of international studies administrators. It is left to academic line administrators such as humanities deans. In similar fashion, the numerous planning and developmental activities relating to international studies on campus, except perhaps study abroad activities, only occasionally include foreign languages. When we asked who was taking leadership in promoting international studies, few college administrators mentioned faculty members from the foreign language departments, even when, in fact, such individuals were playing a major role in attempts to internationalize the campus. This divide between international studies and foreign language instruction on many campuses is not surprising from an historical perspective. Foreign language departments were there first, and became fully developed before international studies as such began to appear with its base primarily in the social sciences. But the time has surely come to reconsider this cleavage.

Aside from the question of making this link, there is a broader issue facing the field and higher educational institutions in general. On the campus, foreign language instruction is subject to a set of attitudes ranging from highly critical to neglectful among non-language faculty and administrators, attitudes which led to the curtailment and occasionally even the abolition of language instruction during the 1970s, and which sap its vitality now. Ultimately, the success of foreign language instruction on campuses critically depends on attitudes toward foreign. language learning in the society as a whole, which is, by and large, beyond the control of the language profession itself. It will depend upon our society's recognition of the need to deal with different nationalities in their own tongues. A pressing area of research is the exploration of precisely these attitudes both in the society and on the campus, and what it takes to turn them in a more constructive direction.

The agenda for change in foreign language instruction that will be sketched out below calls for collaborative efforts at all levels and in many different sections of the institution, including but not limited to the foreign language teaching community itself. At this critical juncture in our national discussion about meeting our new international challenge, thinking through a fresh agenda which would be shared by all segments of the world would go a long way toward removing many of the institutional constraints that currently hobble foreign language learning on the campus.

Focus and scope of the report. What follows is an explication of what we found in the site interviews, in the substantive data from our own and other national surveys, and in long discussions with many of those both inside and outside the field of foreign language instruction. We do not attempt to examine many of the pedagogical issues that foreign language professionals are legitimately concerned with: for instance, the organization of the major, the improvement of classroom instructional practice, the effectiveness of various testing strategies, materials preparation, teacher training and certification, or the special needs of teachers of particular languages. These are topics which the professional organizations in the field should and do deal with. Moreover, there has been continual improvement on many campuses in the technology of foreign language pedagogy, and the many successes in this domain have accelerated immensely just in the past decade. We take these as given.

Rather, the discussion that follows is directed to the structural and functional aspects of foreign language instruction within the broader context of international studies. Our goal is to inform both the institutional and the national planning process. It is our belief that some of the most basic issues in planning for the future of undergraduate foreign language instruction to serve new national needs have to do with the organization and purpose of the enterprise, and it is to these issues that we direct the bulk our attention.

The discussion that follows is in three parts. First is a discussion of several very broad features of foreign language instruction, with special reference to key national indicators used to measure progress. Second is a discussion and plan for action in addressing a number of the problems raised by national data regarding collegiate foreign language instruction. Third is an examination of the needs of individual institutions as seen by their foreign language faculty.

Skill acquisition and other language courses. As we begin to explore foreign language instruction on our campuses, we will sometimes discuss all aspects of foreign-language-related instruction, from the first semester in elementary Spanish, for instance, to a course in 17th century French literature. The term we will use in such discussions is "language-related courses." We will be paying special attention to those courses more concerned with obtaining skill than with putting those skills to use, that is, the elementary, intermediate, and advanced courses in a particular language. Specialized courses such as conversation, composition, and translation, whose purpose also is to provide a student with a capacity to perform in a particular language, will be enumerated as advanced courses, even though very occasionally they may appear earlier in the sequence on some campuses. We will use the term "literature" to refer to focused courses where, while language learning may take place, the primary purpose of the course is an exposition of a literary topic. Linguistics, while it is included in the language-related courses, will be treated separately.

We recognize that in most institutions, particularly the smaller ones, the division between elementary-, intermediary-, and advanced-skill-oriented courses and literature courses is not very clear. Skill acquisition courses and literature courses are almost always taught within the same department and are part of the same instructional system—indeed the same faculty members often teach both. We also recognize that the very distinction we draw will irritate many scholars in foreign language studies, since it lies at the heart of one of the principal teleological and structural debates in the field—content versus skill.[4] We treat them separately, not to detach foreign language from its cultural setting, but because the characteristics and the issues surrounding elementary, intermediate, and advanced skill acquisition courses are of a very different order from those addressed in most literature courses. Indeed, in some of the larger institutions their staffing and management are quite different as well. This discrimination is, of course, particularly indistinct in the upper levels of the skill acquisition sequence. Our classification was applied on the basis of the course titles and descriptions given in the college and university catalogues, but we bowed to local judgment in our final classification. Where there was any doubt, the chairperson of the relevant department was queried.

FEATURES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

Language Courses in International Studies

How important is foreign language instruction in international studies? Table 7.1 indicates the relative share of the two types of foreign language courses among all internationally focused undergraduate courses on the campuses of the four different types of institutions. To arrive at these figures, we reviewed 5,914 language courses as part of our analysis of a total of 10,467 international studies courses of all kinds. All of the courses included in our tabulations either had students enrolled in them during the 1985-86 academic year, or were actually taken in the immediate past by students of that institution, as indicated by their appearance on the student transcripts. Hence, "ghost" courses, that is, courses that appear in a catalogue but are never actually offered or taken, are not included in the enumeration.

It can be seen that foreign-language-related courses comprise about half of all the internationally oriented courses offered by institutions. Small wonder that many college administrators think of foreign language courses as coterminous with international studies: it is where a very large part of their internationally oriented institutional resources are invested. Historically, it is where international studies started, and to this day, language-related courses make up a very substantial portion of the international education of many students. Indeed, in many cases they are the only internationally oriented courses taken by many students.

In reading Table 7.1, care should be taken not to read equivalences in percentages as equivalences in absolute amounts. For instance, while the proportion of foreign-language-related courses among all internationally oriented courses is higher in the community colleges (59.2 percent) than in the other institutional classes, the absolute number of language-related courses offered by the average community college in our sample was only 41, of which 35, or 85.4 percent, were skill acquisition courses. Since foreign literature courses tend to be upper division courses, and generally require some prior exposure to college-level foreign language instruction, such courses are rarely offered by the institution or taken by the students. In the community colleges, as we will note below, one of the major national challenges is the meaningful extension of foreign language instruction.

At the baccalaureate institutions, where each institution offered an average of 124 language-related courses, less than half (46.8 percent) were skill-oriented courses. It is among the liberal arts colleges that literature courses are the principal vehicle for foreign-language-related instruction. Universities and comprehensive institutions fall between the extremes represented by community colleges and baccalaureate institutions. Table 7.2 makes it possible to make these comparisons directly. It presents the same data

Table 7.1: Skill-Oriented and Literature Courses among All Internationally Oriented Courses

Type of International Course	Percentage of International Courses[a] Credited at—				
	University (N=4,277)	Comprehensive (N=1,964)	Baccalaureate (N=3,802)	Two-Year (N=424)	Total (N=10,467)
All international courses	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Language-related courses	52.7	44.9	42.4	59.2	56.5
Skill-oriented courses	31.8	26.9	19.8	50.0	35.9
Literature courses	20.9	18.0	22.6	9.2	20.5

Source: Catalog course listings and transcript analysis.

Note: N = number of international courses. Data came from 42 institutions including 13 universities, 10 comprehensive institutions, 13 baccalaureate colleges, and 6 two-year institutions.

a. Courses taken either in 1985–86 or in the recent past, as recorded on transcripts of recent degree recipients.

Table 7.2: Mean Number of Language-Related Courses per Institution, by Course and Institutional Type

Type of Course	Mean Number of Courses at—				
	University	Comprehensive	Baccalaureate	Two-Year	Total
All language-related courses	170	87	119	41	116
Literature courses	65	34	61	6	48
Skill-oriented courses	105	53	58	35	68
Skill-oriented courses as a percentage of all language-related courses	61.8	60.9	48.7	85.4	58.6

Source: Catalog course listings and transcript analysis.

as contained in Table 7.1, expressed in terms of the *scale* of the programs, that is, the mean number of courses per institution in each category, and the share of skill-oriented courses in the overall language-related course offerings.

These two tables make it clear why, even if the substantive arguments for the importance of foreign language learning to international studies were not convincing enough, any plans for the improvement of international studies as a whole must be centrally concerned with foreign language teaching.

The current allocation of internationally oriented courses—and by extension faculty time—among foreign languages and other disciplinary courses and among different types of foreign language courses is the result of historical accumulation, not specific planning. The dedication of such a large proportion of international studies to foreign-language-related courses is one of the major policy issues facing the nation, and individual institutions as well. The question is whether this is the optimal use of resources or whether some other allocation of resources is more appropriate. This is no simple matter. Hidden in this consideration are two opposing arguments we heard on many campuses about the purposes of foreign language instruction at the collegiate level. One argument held that skill-oriented language instruction belonged at the secondary school level—at the college level foreign language skills should be assumed and utilized in substantive courses. From this argument, one would attempt to curtail skill-oriented language courses and expand substantive courses utilizing language skills, extending them as far as possible to disciplines other than the study of literature. The other argued that language departments had become too literature-oriented and that too few students received too little skill-oriented foreign language instruction. From this argument, resources should be shifted from literature courses into skill-oriented language instruction. This debate was hidden in many of the discussions we heard among administrators and language faculty on many campuses, and it needs to be addressed directly, both on individual campuses and nationally. To address this question, we will have to discuss some of the purposes of foreign language instruction and to relate foreign language learning to the other parts of the international studies curriculum, points we shall address later.

Enrollments

Planning for national as well as institutional foreign language education is severely limited by the kinds of data that are generally available for consideration. Currently, records are kept on two gross features of foreign language education: total enrollments in foreign language courses, and the number of institutions or states that require foreign language study. As we shall see, neither of them is as fully informative as is necessary for effective institutional or national planning.

Total foreign language enrollments. The most comprehensive data available on foreign language enrollments across the nation are collected by the Modern Language Association (MLA), which has made a major contribution to the topic by maintaining a relatively consistent record of overall national trends over the years. Their data aggregate reports from college and university registrars, and give the total enrollments of undergraduates in each foreign language and the total numbers of students enrolled in foreign language courses. The data are taken by many as a barometer of the demand for foreign language instruction, and, by derivation, the well-being of the field. At the national level, most language teachers are heartened by reports from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages that secondary school enrollments increased by 10 percent between 1982 and 1985, and the MLA's report that, after a steady decline in the 1970s and 1980s, there has been a 3.9 percent increase in collegiate foreign language registrations between the fall term of 1983 and the fall term of 1986.[5] In 1986 college-level enrollments broke the million mark for the first time in fourteen years; they have gone up two trienniums in a row, and increases have been noted in every major modern language except German, Arabic, and Hebrew.

Table 7.3: Mean Enrollment at Sample Institutions, by Language and Institutional Type, 1983 and 1986

	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-Year	
Language and Year	Mean Enroll.	No. of Inst.	Mean Enroll.	No. of Inst.	Mean Enroll.	No. of Inst.	Mean Enroll.	No. of Inst.
Arabic								
1983	36	(10)	89	(1)	—	—	20	(1)
1986	27	(11)	43	(1)	4	(3)	—	—
Chinese								
1983	106	(12)	52	(3)	24	(8)	74	(2)
1986	95	(13)	57	(5)	33	(8)	83	(1)
French								
1983	986	(15)	292	(9)	170	(13)	460	(6)
1986	852	(16)	223	(10)	173	(13)	328	(6)
German								
1983	458	(16)	130	(10)	90	(12)	143	(5)
1986	404	(16)	86	(11)	81	(12)	126	(5)
Italian								
1983	161	(13)	118	(3)	30	(5)	96	(5)
1986	170	(14)	70	(3)	23	(6)	113	(5)
Japanese								
1983	117	(13)	76	(4)	21	(8)	422[a]	(2)
1986	130	(14)	79	(5)	32	(9)	296[a]	(3)
Portuguese								
1983	45	(11)	11	(1)	—	—	—	—
1986	65	(12)	—	—	1	(1)	30	(1)
Russian								
1983	144	(16)	89	(5)	65	(9)	17	(2)
1986	157	(15)	86	(5)	62	(8)	92	(1)
Spanish								
1983	1,081	(16)	294	(9)	122	(13)	975	(6)
1986	1,148	(16)	263	(10)	127	(13)	738	(7)

Source: MLA enrollment surveys.

Note: Figures in parentheses represent the number of institutions on which the mean is based for each language for each institutional type for each year.

— No enrollment reported.

a. Two-year-institution enrollments in Japanese are swamped by enrollments in the Hawaii Community College system and would not be representative of all such institutions.

Table 7.4: Language Enrollment and Program Changes, by Institutional Type, 1983 to 1986

	No. of Programs w/	Enrollment		Institutions That Reported			No. of Programs That, since 1983, Were	
Institutional Type	Enrollees 1986	1986	%Change from 1983	Increase in Enroll.	No Change	Decrease in Enroll.	Added	Dropped
Arabic								
University	11	291	-18	2		8	1	
Comprehensive	1	43	-52			1		
Baccalaureate	3	11	[a]				3	
Two-year	0	0	[b]					1
Chinese								
University	12	1,229	+3	7		5	1	
Comprehensive	5	283	+80	3			2	
Baccalaureate	8	262	+39	3	2	2	1	1
Two-year	1	83	-44				1	2
French								
University	16	13,634	-14	6		10		
Comprehensive	10	2,225	-25	2	1	6	1	
Baccalaureate	13	2,248	+1	6	1	6		
Two-year	6	1,965	-29	1		5		
German								
University	16	6,464	-12	6		10		
Comprehensive	11	948	-28	2		8	1	
Baccalaureate	12	967	-10	3		9		
Two-year	5	631	-12	2		3		
Italian								
University	14	2,367	-14	8		5	1	
Comprehensive	3	210	-41	1		2		
Baccalaureate	6	136	-9	2		3	1	
Two-year	5	566	+17	3		2		

What is true at the aggregate national level, however, is not universally true of individual institutions. Even at the national level, foreign language enrollments declined by 0.9 percent among two-year colleges. Beyond this, when we reviewed some further calculations from the 1983 and 1986 MLA enumerations, the picture was much more mixed.

Table 7.3 presents our own tabulation of the MLA data on total language enrollments for the 16 universities, 11 comprehensive institutions, 13 baccalaureate institutions, and 7 community colleges in our sample. They represent the mean total enrollment in each language per college or university of each institutional type. It should be remembered that our sample institutions were not selected to be fully representative of all institutions in their class. However, to check whether the conclusions reached on the basis of our sample were more widely representative, we analyzed MLA's data on all of the institutions in five states—Ohio, North Carolina, California, Texas, and Massachusetts—and the same overall pattern emerges of mixed increases and decreases. Using our own sample, however, allows us to be a little more specific about the nature of the changes that have taken place in the different classes of institutions.

What our data indicate is that within the national-level figures showing overall change in enrollments, there is an immense amount of variation by institutional type.

Table 7.4: Language Enrollment and Program Changes, by Institutional Type, 1983 to 1986 (*continued*)

Institutional Type	No. of Programs w/ Enrollees 1986	Enrollment 1986	Enrollment %Change from 1983	Institutions That Reported Increase in Enroll.	Institutions That Reported No Change	Institutions That Reported Decrease in Enroll.	No. of Programs That, since 1983, Were Added	No. of Programs That, since 1983, Were Dropped
Japanese								
University	14	1,813	+20	7		6	1	
Comprehensive	5	394	+30	3		1	1	
Baccalaureate	9	290	+73	8			1	
Two-year	3	889	+5	1			2	1
Portuguese								
University	12	781	+57	6		5	1	
Comprehensive	0	0	[b]					1
Baccalaureate	1	1	[a]				1	
Two-year	1	30	[a]				1	
Russian								
University	15	2,361	-2	8		7		1
Comprehensive	5	432	-3	3		2		1
Baccalaureate	8	492	-16	2	1	5		1
Two-year	1	92	+171[c]	1				1
Spanish								
University	16	18,360	+6	8	1	7		
Comprehensive	10	2,629	-1	4		5	1	
Baccalaureate	13	1,647	+4	7	1	5		
Two-year	7	5,164	-12	2		4	1	

Source: MLA enrollment survey data for sample institutions.

a. No enrollment in 1983.

b. No enrollment in 1986.

c. Enrollment decline at one institution from 15 to 0 and an increase in one program from 19 to 92.

Declines in mean enrollment are interspersed with increases in most of the languages and institutional categories.

To demonstrate this mixed pattern of change a little more clearly, Table 7.4 shows rates of change between 1983 and 1986 by institutional class and by language. The figures in the first column indicate the number of institutions that reported to MLA that there were enrollments in courses in the indicated language in the fall of 1986; not all institutions reported enrollments in all languages. To give some idea of scale, the second column indicates the total enrollments for that language in all institutions in that type. It is the remaining columns that present the interesting refinement of the national-level data. The third column indicates the percent change in total enrollments in that institutional type between 1983 and 1986. The next three columns indicate the number of institutions that reported an increase in enrollments, steady state, or a decline in enrollments, respectively. The final two columns indicate the number of language programs that seem to have been initiated or dropped between 1983 and 1986.

Reports on overall national trends inevitably mask considerable local variation. It is therefore not surprising that a somewhat different picture of trends in language enrollments emerges from these two tables. The general increase indicated by the reports on national trends turns out not to be characteristic of all or even most institutions or institutional types. It is possible that the differences between reported national trends and the trends shown in Table 7.4 are the result of either errors in reporting enrollments to MLA in either year, or the nonrepresentativeness of our sample. However, the number of minuses in column 3 indicating a negative change (18 out of 36), and in column 6 the number of programs in the sample (132) showing a decline of enrollments between 1983 and 1986, and the number of institutions where enrollments were reported in 1983 but not in 1986 (10) would indicate that enrollment declines occurred on many campuses.

To emphasize this point a little further, and to guard a little against possible bias in our sampling, we calculated from the MLA data gains and losses in individual language enrollments in all university, comprehensive, and baccalaureate institutions in two states, Ohio and North Carolina. We selected these states because they are known to have a substantial number of institutions in each of the three institutional categories. These two tabulations are not strictly comparable. For instance, our tabulations from the sample included community colleges; tabulations from the MLA data did not. However, the fundamental point of immense institutional variation hidden under national aggregate data emerges from both tabulations. The Ohio and North Carolina tabulations showed 198 cases of increase in language-specific enrollments and 122 declines. Quick calculations from MLA data for California, Texas, and Massachusetts showed similar variation in patterns of growth and decline.[6]

Aside from this contrast with the national averages, what changes in foreign language enrollments do these data suggest? First, in the sample data, except for Japanese, the less commonly taught languages seem to be declining in enrollments almost everywhere. The data are more variable in the Ohio and North Carolina tabulations. Japanese seems to be expanding everywhere in both the sample and the state data, whereas the progress of Chinese is variable among the sample institutions, but state data in Ohio and North Carolina show increased enrollments in ten institutions and declines in two. The study of Arabic seems to be consistently reduced in the sample institutions, even though a few new programs are being added, and it breaks even in terms of growth and decline rates in the state data. Russian seems to be drifting downward, although not precipitously, in the sample data. As many institutions in our sample institutions gained enrollments in Russian as lost, but except for one community college, in all institutional classes there is a net enrollment decline in Russian, and individual programs are disappearing. The state data show an increase in 16 of 23 institutions. This immense variability among institutions and frequent decline in enrollments is surely ironic when the national need for competency in Russian—if only to monitor compliance with the new arms agreements—is suddenly growing and there are no qualified Russian speakers to fill the need.

The most interesting data are those relating to the most commonly taught languages, Spanish, French, and German. The MLA's report of the decline in German is reflected in the data on the sample institutions, and 36 out of 66 institutions show a decline in the Ohio and California data. North Carolina shows an aggregate increase of 9 percent in overall enrollments in German, while Ohio shows an overall enrollment decrease of 12 percent. Like German, enrollment changes in French are also variable. In our sample data, French lost enrollment in every institutional category except baccalaureate institutions, where it is almost constant, and 27 institutions have shown a decline compared with 15 showing an increase. In the state data, 52 out of 79 institutions show an increase. Ohio shows a 2 percent decrease in overall enrollments in French while North Carolina shows a 17 percent increase. Spanish appears to be fairly stable, but it is certainly not undergoing the major expansion that our emerging multicultural society might call for. In the state data, 35 out of 90 institutions actually show a decline in enrollments. The overall impression gained from the sample and the state data is one of a highly varied pattern of growth and decline in overall enrollments among the different institutions and languages. The basic point is clear: institutional, state, or national planning must consider variations in the direction and rate of change in specific institutions and institutional types, along with the national aggregate data.

Aside from variability, we should also note that the continuing overwhelming dominance of enrollments in the commonly taught languages is still largely untouched.

Table 7.5: Mean First-Semester Enrollments in Language Courses at Sample Institutions, by Level of Course, Language, and Institutional Type, Academic Year 1985–86

	Mean First-Semester Enrollment at—			
Language and Course Level	University	Comprehensive	Baccalaureate	Two-Year
Chinese				
Elementary	78	50	20	112[a]
Intermediate	51	48	9	36
Advanced	47	20	4	—
French				
Elementary	508	150	65	361
Intermediate	230	51	62	60
Advanced	169	120	21	10
German				
Elementary	275	64	50	99
Intermediate	88	31	30	27
Advanced	91	47	10	8
Japanese				
Elementary	97	77	38	601[a]
Intermediate	41	24	9	35
Advanced	69[b]	7	9	9
Russian				
Elementary	79	35	16	42
Intermediate	31	21	20	—
Advanced	61	38	17	—
Spanish				
Elementary	886	269	76	788
Intermediate	322	55	44	221
Advanced	212	78	16	64

Source: Registrar reports from sample institutions.

— No enrollment.

a. Large average enrollment results from the inclusion of the University of Hawaii Community College system.

b. Large average enrollment results from the inclusion of Brigham Young University.

Enrollments in French, German, and Spanish still predominate (56,882 in our sample in those languages compared with 13,096 in the other languages; and 50,575 compared with 7,049 in the state data), but the preponderance is not quite so great as is usually thought. The inclusion of the smaller enrollment languages would increase total enrollments in the less commonly taught languages, but not by much.

Enrollment gradients by level of instruction. In addition to indicating the variation in enrollment gains and declines by institution and institutional type, the other major change in record keeping that would assist both national and institutional planning is to report enrollments by course level. Changes in total foreign language enrollments tell us

Table 7.6: Comparison of Language Enrollments, by Class Level, Language, and Institutional Type, Academic Year 1985–86

	Percentage Difference in Enrollment[a] from—		
Institutional Type	1st to 2nd Term	1st to 2nd Year	2nd to 3rd Year
Chinese			
University	-31.4	32.4	-60.7
Comprehensive	-16.8	-52.4	-84.6
Baccalaureate	-5.9	-81.5	-91.1
Two-year	-70.4	-71.6	na
French			
University	-36.8	-52.9	-64.2
Comprehensive	-38.0	-62.1	-65.5
Baccalaureate	-21.0	-2.2	-87.0
Two-year	-58.6	-81.8	na
German			
University	-38.6	-57.8	-66.2
Comprehensive	-21.0	-54.7	-65.9
Baccalaureate	-34.1	-49.2	-78.9
Two-year	-52.6	-86.6	-94.1
Japanese			
University	-56.0	51.5	-43.1
Comprehensive	-15.6	-75.8	-95.1
Baccalaureate	-43.1	-81.7	-73.8
Two-year	-77.5	-94.0	-89.8
Russian			
University	-46.6	-56.0	-35.6
Comprehensive	-6.8	-33.6	-49.8
Baccalaureate	-8.1	-9.1	-59.5
Two-year	-46.0	na	na
Spanish			
University	-43.2	-58.9	-60.0
Comprehensive	-55.6	-75.0	-60.1
Baccalaureate	-23.1	-52.0	-83.9
Two-year	-74.2	-70.4	-93.8

Source: Registrar reports from 25 institutions.

na Not applicable.

a. Total enrollments at 25 sample institutions. Data for the three institutions on the quarter system were converted to 2nd-semester equivalents by averaging the enrollments for the 2nd and 3rd quarters.

a little, but not very much, about what is happening in foreign language instruction either nationally or within a particular institution. As we will see, this gives a much more accurate picture of the nature of foreign language instruction on the campus.

Table 7.5 presents data provided on fall 1985 undergraduate enrollments in various levels and kinds of language instruction in 25 of the sample institutions. They comprise tabulations of the enrollments in courses in each language by level. To dramatize the importance of looking at enrollment gradients rather than total enrollment, consider the case of two hypothetical institutions, each with 1,000 total enrollments in foreign language classes. In one case, all of the 1,000 are in the first semester with no students going on to a higher level; in the other the students are evenly distributed across the levels. The functioning of their language teaching programs is obviously quite different. These data begin to make clear that much of the instructional effort in colleges and universities is devoted to elementary-, or at most intermediate-, level foreign language instruction.

Table 7.6 gives a more detailed view of the enrollment attrition rate from one level to another in the elementary, intermediate, and advanced courses in each language. These data show the attrition between the first and the second semester, between the first and second year, and between the second and third year and beyond. The figures in the body of the table display these enrollment gradients in the form of a percent change in enrollments from one class level to the next. For instance, in 11 universities in our sample, enrollments in elementary French in the first term were 6,095 and in the second term were 3,855; the difference in enrollments was 2,240, a decline of 36.8 percent.

This attrition in enrollments is well known to language department chairs. As part of our site visits, we asked 64 departmental chairpersons for their estimates of the percentage of students at one level who proceeded to the next. Their estimates are not too far off the actual averages. The mean estimate by chairpersons was that 71.3 percent of students enrolled in the first term continued on into the second term, 49.4 percent went from the first year to the second, and 26.0 percent went from the second year to the third.

Steep enrollment gradients are reflected in the limited amount of training that students get in particular languages. Table 7.7 indicates for each of the six languages covered in Table 7.5 the percentage of those students who stop at the elementary, intermediate, or advanced.

Steep enrollment gradients have important consequences for a department's teaching program. They mean that language departments must devote most of their instruction time to beginners, and in schools where there is a language requirement, they must often spend a substantial amount of their time and effort on reluctant beginners. Low completion rates by individual students are extremely frustrating for teachers who well know that to attain even an elementary command of a language demands several years of effort. The most demoralizing situation for teachers must be when the bulk of the students take only a semester of a language, and where an institution's practice translates a one-year foreign language requirement into a semester in each of two languages. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to escape a sense of futility. In many universities, professorial morale is preserved by assigning T.A.'s to the low-level, high-turnover classes. In smaller institutions it is done by compartmentalizing instruction into term or year units so that the continuity of instruction for individual students is not a major issue for the individual instructor.

In closing this section, the most general point we want to stress is that in taking enrollment figures as guides to structural change, planning must distinguish among the different languages, the levels of instruction, and institutional contexts.

Language Requirements

As in the case of total foreign language enrollments, we believe that requirements for admission or graduation are too gross a measure of foreign language instruction to serve as a base for national, state, or institutional planning. Currently, however, many in the foreign language field take the expansion or contraction of foreign language requirements as a barometer of the well-being of the field. The spread of requirements, like growing total enrollments, is taken as an indication of increasing national demand for foreign language instruction. In the case of requirements, of course, we are speaking of institutional demand, since the whole point of requirements is to substitute faculty prescription for freely expressed student demand. Language requirements comprise an institutional statement on how many and what kinds of students should be required to take how much foreign language education.

Table 7.7: Percentage Distribution of Language Students, by Highest Level Taken, Language, and Institutional Type

Language and Course Level	Percentage of Language Students in—			
	University	Comprehensive	Baccalaureate	Two-Year
Chinese				
Elementary	48.2	52.9	45.5	60.0
Intermediate	29.6	23.5	20.5	40.0
Advanced	22.2	23.5	34.1	—
French				
Elementary	46.3	58.9	40.0	73.2
Intermediate	41.9	22.2	39.0	23.2
Advanced	11.8	18.9	21.0	3.6
German				
Elementary	55.2	56.9	45.3	76.5
Intermediate	34.4	17.0	31.4	23.5
Advanced	10.4	26.1	23.3	—
Japanese				
Elementary	42.6	80.0	45.9	100.0
Intermediate	23.4	15.6	29.4	—
Advanced	34.0	4.4	24.7	—
Russian				
Elementary	43.6	27.5	53.5	100.0
Intermediate	30.8	37.5	26.7	—
Advanced	25.6	35.0	19.8	—
Spanish				
Elementary	45.3	75.4	52.6	56.2
Intermediate	44.6	18.9	32.7	42.3
Advanced	10.2	5.7	14.7	1.5

Source: Transcript analysis.

— No students with course credits at this level.

The most extreme answers are: "everybody" and "nobody." Not many institutions we studied take the latter position to the extent of not offering foreign language courses at all. However, we did not cover the technical specialty schools in either our site visits or special Higher Education Panel (HEP) survey, although presumably many of them offer foreign language training.[7]

We did encounter some private musings among academic administrators and nonlanguage faculty who leaned toward the "nobody" answer. Some wonder whether lower-level, skill-oriented language instruction qualifies as college-level education since such other elementary "skill" courses such as algebra or arithmetic do not. They argue that foreign language instruction be given to students before they enter college, or that it should be the students' responsibility to acquire a foreign language competency on his or her own as an individual, extracurricular activity. We did encounter one experimental liberal arts college in our sample which adopted just such a philosophy and offered no foreign language instruction of its own, although it arranged for students to acquire foreign language competencies at nearby institutions if they wished.

A variant on the argument that foreign language instruction is not a scholarly pursuit is the frequently reiterated position of the National Endowment for the Humanities: it holds that while the study of literature is a fitting scholarly pursuit, acquiring foreign language skills to read that literature is mere skill acquisition, not one of the humanities.

There are few language "Luddites" ready to dismantle the entire language instructional apparatus. The debate is usually not about whether foreign language courses should be offered for academic credit at all, but about whether some or all students should be required to take them, and if so who and how much.

The opposite point of view is taken by those who answer that everybody should take a foreign language. This usually implies a universal foreign language requirement for either admission or graduation, or both. As we will see, the more extreme position is less common—most institutions specify foreign language requirements at graduation for specifically designated students and assume that the college will have to provide the instruction, not the secondary schools. How many institutions took the "everybody" alternative and how many the "some" option and at what level? Table 7.8 indicates the percentage of institutions in our national HEP sample that required all or some entering students to have had foreign language training in high school, and the percentage of institutions that required all or some students to taken foreign language courses for graduation.[8]

Table 7.8: Percentage of Institutions with Foreign Language Requirements, by Institutional Type, 1987

Language Requirements	University (N=161)	Comprehensive (N=408)	Baccalaureate (N=739)	Two-Year (N=1,311)
For admission				
All students	22	13	11	1
Some students	14	1	1	1
For graduation				
All students	9	8	22	<1
Some students	68	70	40	13

Source: Special HEP survey, No. 76.

The "everybody" response is infrequently given either as an entrance or graduation requirement. The great majority of four-year institutions (84 percent) and of two-year institutions (97 percent) have no foreign language requirements for entrance. Where there is a foreign language requirement for admission it usually specifies two years of high school classroom instruction. None of the four-year institutions actually required entering students to demonstrate a minimal level of foreign language competency through a competency examination; total "seat time" is enough.

Foreign language requirements for graduation are more common. However, except for baccalaureate institutions, where the student body is often more homogeneous and more liberal-arts-oriented, relatively few institutions require all of their students to have studied a foreign language before graduation. Data from the special HEP survey indicate that 31 percent of four-year institutions and 86 percent of two-year institutions have no foreign language requirement for graduation for any students, but 69 percent of the four-year institutions and 14 percent of the two-year institutions have foreign language requirements for some or all of their students. Among the four-year institutions with foreign language graduation requirements for all students, 39 percent specify a minimum of one or two semesters of study. While there are a few institutions that require a minimal level of performance on an independent language competency test, such a requirement is still uncommon. None of the institutions in the HEP sample with a universal language requirement does more than specify "seat time."

When, as is usually the case, foreign language requirements apply only to some students, who are they, and what requirements apply?

As might be expected, it is the liberal arts majors (particularly the humanists, and to a lesser extent the social scientists) to whom foreign language requirements tend to apply and of whom more language study is expected. The preprofessional fields are touched only lightly. And in almost all cases, the requirement is given in number of semesters or years of classroom study, not a demonstrated foreign language competency.

One of the primary implications of these data is that if the expansion of language requirements among institutions is to be taken as an index of the expansion or contraction of national interest in foreign languages, we need more information as to the target population and the nature of the requirement.

We have no interest in entering into the debate about foreign language requirements. The issues have been argued again and again on most campuses in the country and in national reports on undergraduate educational reform. Like so many long-lived academic controversies, it thrives on dilemmas, becomes encrusted with symbolism, and has major organizational as well as intellectual implications. Even among the highly selective liberal arts colleges in our survey sample, about half have neither admission nor graduation foreign language requirements, and most others have only graduation requirements. While they all support the importance of foreign language learning, the ones that do not require a specified number of courses either object to or try to minimize requirements of any kind, or dislike the structural and pedagogical implications of attempting to teach foreign languages to substantial numbers of unenthusiastic students.

One of the best summaries of the issues in the language requirement debate was contained in a report of a curricular committee at Swarthmore College which wrestled with the question of the language requirement for many months. While it wound up recommending the installation of a requirement, the faculty was determined to avoid the damaging consequences of such a decision for its foreign language departments. The following comment from that report indicates the nature of its concern.

> Some of the six members of the Department of Foreign Languages with whom CEP [Committee on Educational Policy] consulted were quick to point out that a college-wide graduation requirement would almost certainly entail significant curricular and staffing adjustments. For example, the immediate increase in language teaching would correspondingly reduce the number of literary offerings now available unless compensatory staffing were provided. Furthermore, it would be necessary to add non-intensive sections in all languages to accommodate less dedicated, perhaps even reluctant, students merely working to satisfy a requirement.[9]

Swarthmore's solution, following one developed at Stanford, was to push the responsibility for foreign language education back on the high schools. They noted that 67 percent of their students arrived on campus with four years of instruction in a single language in high school, and 89 percent had had at least three years of such instruction. They set their requirement at three years, including study undertaken in high school. They allowed students to certify the equivalent through a score on a nationally normed test, and they provided a year's language study on campus if neither of the two alternatives sufficed. A very highly selective school like Swarthmore, with the superior scholastic achievements and liberal arts orientation of its student body, can reach such a decision and not reduce very much their students' exposure to foreign language study. Other institutions may not be able to make this assumption, although in the fall of 1986, 71.1 percent of all freshmen entering institutions of higher education indicated that they already had had two years or more of foreign language education, up from 65.5 percent in the fall of 1985.[10]

While Swarthmore was able to set a general requirement and put most of the responsibility for meeting that requirement on secondary schools or the student, as Tables 7.9 and 7.10 show, many institutions opt for requiring a substantial period of

Table 7.9: Percentage of Institutions with Language Requirements for Some Baccalaureates, by Broad Discipline Groups and Institutional Type, 1987

Discipline Group	University (N=110)	Comprehensive (N=284)	Baccalaureate (N=295)	Two-Year (N=689)
Humanities	89	86	95	91
Social sciences	92	70	69	73
Natural sciences	66	49	45	50
Education	20	20	14	17
Computer science	42	30	26	30
Business (undergraduate)	18	12	32	22
Engineering	8	11	5	8
Health sciences	23	15	3	11

Source: Special HEP survey, No. 76.

Note: Table shows the percentages of only those institutions that had a language requirement for some, but not all, of their baccalaureates.

Table 7.10: Percentage of Four-Year Institutions with Language Requirements for Some Students, by Length of Study and Discipline Group, 1987

Discipline Group	Percentage of Institutions Requiring— One or Two Semester Equivalents	Three or More Semester Equivalents
Humanities	33	57
Social sciences	32	41
Natural sciences	26	24
Education	9	8
Computer science	17	13
Business (undergraduate)	13	9
Engineering	5	3
Health sciences	5	6

Source: Special HEP survey, No. 76.

Note: Table shows the percentages of only those institutions that had a language requirement for some, but not all, of their baccalaureates.

language study on campus. Foreign language departments see themselves as facing a cruel dilemma. On the one hand, they know all too well the problems of corruption of the teaching process that results from filling the classes with students who are there not of their own free will. On the other hand, many language departments are strongly convinced of the value of foreign language learning, recognize that it requires dedicated hard work on the part of the learner and that it cannot be accomplished in the brief time that many learners volunteer to devote to it, and see the language requirement as a means to guarantee that as many students as possible will get some significant exposure.

It is a rare institution, however, that measures the effectiveness of a foreign language requirement against the language courses that students actually take. Swarthmore did so, and found that the imposition of their language requirement made almost no difference in the actual pattern of course taking. We believe that the real issue is not requirements, but what students actually get.

Actual Course-Taking Patterns

Language requirements are at best curricular prescriptions, and students, particularly college students, are notoriously inventive in corrupting or avoiding requirements they do not care for. As a case in point, some years ago at a major Ivy League university, the faculty instituted a four-credit pass/fail system in the hope of encouraging students to broaden their educational sampling by enrolling in such reportedly difficult courses as physics, biology, or economics without damaging their grade point averages. A few years later, it was discovered that three-fourths of the pass/fail options were being used to meet the foreign language requirement.

The fundamental question, one that is essential to national, state, and institutional planning, one that should precede any debates about what should be offered and what should be required in foreign language education, is, How many students of what kind take how much foreign language training in what languages? Table 7.11 is based on our analysis of the transcripts of 8,439 students graduating in 1986 from 34 colleges and universities. The figures indicate the percentage of students in the different types of institutions whose highest-level skill-oriented course in any language was at the elementary, intermediate, or upper level. (It will be recalled that literature courses are omitted from this enumeration. We will discuss later the proportion of students who take such courses.)

The first thing to be noted is that a substantial portion of the undergraduate student body in any institutional class received no skill-oriented language instruction. When all of the samples from all of the institutional groups are added together, 51.9 percent of the students took no such foreign language classes during their undergraduate studies. An even clearer indication of the low rate of exposure to foreign language education on our campuses is the fact that in every institutional group, the overwhelming proportion of students who do take skill-oriented language courses take one year or less of language training. In the university group, 69.4 percent of the students either take no such language training while at the university, or only a lower-level course; this is true of 85.7 percent of students in comprehensive institutions; 65.2 percent in baccalaureate institutions, 89.3 percent in two-year institutions, and 75.3 percent of the students in all institutional types combined. For some students, these figures underrepresent their total exposure to foreign language instruction, since they may also be taking a second foreign language—our survey of 64 language department chairs indicated that in their opinion about 10 percent or less of the students do so—and some may enter college with enough foreign language training in high school and skip directly to literature courses, but the overall pattern holds true.

Table 7.11: Percentage Distribution of Degree Recipients by Highest Level of Skill-Oriented Language Course Taken and Institutional Type, 1986

	Percentage of Degree Recipients at—			
Course Level	University (N=1,915)	Comprehensive (N=2,475)	Baccalaureate (N=2,950)	Two-Year (N=1,099)
No language course taken	46.1	61.5	39.8	72.8
Some skill-oriented language courses taken	53.9	38.5	60.2	27.2
Highest course level				
Elementary	*43.3*	*62.7*	*42.1*	*60.5*
Intermediate	*43.0*	*20.8*	*37.9*	*37.5*
Advanced	*13.7*	*16.5*	*20.0*	*2.0*

Source: Transcript analysis.

Note: N= the number of graduates whose transcripts were examined. Figures in italics show the distribution of only those students who took at least one skill-oriented language course, by the highest level of course taken. The number of students taken such courses were: 1,033 at universities, 953 at comprehensive institutions, 1,776 at baccalaureate colleges, and 299 at two-year colleges.

There is, of course, variation within the institutional groups, particularly among the baccalaureate institutions. In several of the highly selective liberal arts colleges of the Midwest more than 90 percent of the students take a skill-oriented foreign language course, and well over half of them take an intermediate or upper-level course. On the other hand, in a few colleges (generally those recently converted from two-year institutions) more than 80 percent of the students take no foreign language training and less than 10 percent take any course above the introductory level. Institutions within the other categories tend to be closer to the average, with the exception of a few liberal-arts-oriented universities whose students take language courses in the same fashion as the students in the baccalaureate institutions.

In general terms, however, the pattern indicated in Table 7.11 describes the situation in most insitutions in our site visit sample. Just as we noted with regard to study abroad, foreign language study at the collegiate-level is primarily a liberal-arts-oriented phenomenon. It is very poorly represented in those institutions that have a high proportion of students majoring in applied and pre-professional fields. With very few exceptions, language study is only lightly represented at the community college level. The same characteristics that make the community college environment a difficult one in which to conduct successful study abroad programs—a part-time, occupationally oriented, already-employed student body in which ethnic and racial minorities and families in the lower socioeconomic classes are overrepresented—limit enrollments in foreign language classes.

The liberal arts orientation of foreign language learning is also indicated in the frequency of enrollments in elementary, intermediate and advanced language courses by students graduating with various disciplinary majors. Table 7.12, based upon our analysis of the transcripts of graduates, indicates the mean number of such language courses taken by undergraduate students in each major in each institutional type.

The picture that emerges is quite clear. Collegiate foreign language instruction touches most students only very slightly, if at all. Fitting foreign language instruction into the more occupationally oriented community colleges and comprehensive institutions is especially difficult. No matter what our aspirations for universal foreign language learning, even in the other institutional types, a very large proportion of students receive no foreign language instruction. Even among those who do, the average student takes only between one and two skill-oriented language courses while in college.

In examining differences in on-campus foreign language learning among the various majors, we found the very same pattern we uncovered in study abroad. As in the rest of international studies, the study of foreign languages is predominantly undertaken by humanities and social science majors, and even there students in some majors take surprisingly little foreign language training. For example, outside of students in baccalaureate institutions, those majoring in the visual and performing arts and geography majors have relatively little exposure to foreign language training. Sociology majors tend to be parochial in their foreign language education, as do those majoring in the applied and professional disciplines. It is especially regrettable that as the practice of their discipline is becoming increasingly international in focus, those in engineering and in the sciences typically receive little or no collegiate foreign language instruction. This is a clear example of the lack of relationship between national need and educational

Table 7.12: Mean Number of Language Courses Taken by 1986 Degree Recipients, by College Major and Institutional Type

Major	University	Comprehensive	Baccalaureate	Two-Year
Humanities				
Archaeology	2.0	0.0	—	0.0
Art	1.2	1.7	1.7	0.6
Drama	1.6	1.8	2.2	1.0
History	2.8	1.1	2.4	1.5
Languages and literature	5.3	3.0	2.9	3.6
Linguistics	7.0	0.0	6.0	0.0
Music	0.9	1.0	2.4	—
Philosophy	3.4	1.3	2.2	4.0
Religion	3.0	1.3	2.8	0.0
Other humanities	1.2	0.9	2.3	0.9
Social sciences				
Anthropology	3.5	1.0	2.2	0.0
Economics	2.0	1.4	2.2	4.0
Geography	1.2	0.7	—	0.0
International relations	3.4	4.6	4.5	0.0
Political science	2.6	1.7	2.6	—
Psychology	2.1	1.2	1.9	0.7
Sociology	1.5	0.9	1.6	3.5
Other social sciences	1.3	2.0	4.0	—
Area studies				
African studies	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
Asian studies	9.0	1.5	6.1	0.0
European studies	0.0	3.7	5.0	0.0
Latin American studies	0.0	4.3	2.3	0.0
Middle East studies	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Black/Afro-American studies	1.0	2.7	0.0	0.0
Chicano/Hispanic studies	0.0	0.0	7.0	0.0
Other area studies	0.0	1.5	4.5	0.0
Natural sciences				
Biological sciences	1.9	1.1	2.0	2.0
Physical sciences	2.1	1.1	2.1	—
Applied and professional fields				
Agriculture	1.1	0.6	—	0.3
Business	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.7
Communications	1.7	1.8	0.8	0.3
Computer science	1.1	0.8	1.0	0.3
Education	1.6	0.5	0.8	0.7
Engineering	0.3	1.1	0.0	0.4
Health professions	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.3
Library science	1.5	0.7	3.3	1.5
Other applied and professional fields	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.4
All fields	1.5	1.1	1.9	0.6

Source: Transcript analysis.

— No language courses recorded on transcripts.

practice. Especially troublesome is the low exposure of education majors to foreign language education. Nothing is more likely to perpetuate our unfortunate national devotion to monolingualism than perpetuating the tradition of a largely monolingual teaching profession, one unlikely to convey to future generations of students more of a desire to take foreign languages than the teachers themselves had.

CHANGING THE PATTERN

So far we have treated the information on total enrollments, enrollment gradients, and difference in exposure to foreign language instruction as scorekeeping problems, arguing for a more refined system of record keeping at both the institutional and the national level, but the implications of these data are more profound. They raise fundamental issues of foreign language educational policy. The basic questions to be addressed in institutional and national policy are, Does the current, relatively low level of foreign language training meet national needs, and can and should it be changed? Planning for change in the system must await an answer to these fundamental questions.

Length of Language Study

First, what do the data show? As we indicated above, one of the most striking features of foreign language instruction at the undergraduate level is the relatively low percentage of students who take any language classes at all, and of those who do take college-level language courses, the low proportion who proceed beyond the elementary or intermediate level. In many institutions, where there is a foreign language requirement at all, only one semester or one year of study is required for graduation. More generally, the drop-off in enrollments between the first and second semester is precipitous, ranging between one-third and one-half, and between the first and second year a decline of almost 80 percent in the major languages takes place, with an equivalent drop between the second and the third year. What the implications of this are for institutional policy depend upon what the purpose of foreign language training is.

Foreign language study for general education. If the primary purpose of collegiate foreign language study is to contribute to a student's general education—for instance, if the goal is the reduction of ethnocentrism and the provision of an understanding of another culture—the research question is, To what extent is this goal built into elementary language teaching and to what extent is this goal achieved? The evidence on this point is rather slim. David Wilkins, assigned by the Council of Europe to review all of the relevant literature, noted that: "Virtually no empirical research into the cognitive, conceptual and affective/attitudinal effects of foreign language learning has ever been done."[11] This statement is a bit sweeping. There are many positive statements in the American literature,[12] but there have been only a few empirical studies and their conclusions are unclear. Some American evidence suggests that the study of foreign languages improves SAT's and the bilingual education literature has a fair amount of evidence on the psychological benefits of bilingualism. But the only major study on the benefits of foreign language study to cross-cultural understanding is somewhat less positive. The Educational Testing Service (ETS) conducted a major national survey of college students' knowledge of international affairs, their attitudes towards other nations, and what they judged to be good and bad. As part of that survey ETS also measured students' foreign language competency and determined the interrelationship among these variables. The authors of that survey report, Thomas Barrows and John Clark, concluded: "Although a substantial correlation between language and knowledge could not establish causality, the absence of such a relationship rules out the hypothesized role of language as a 'source' of global understanding."[13] Both Barrows and Clark and Wilkins express some doubt that low levels of language competency can have much effect; however, Barrows and Clark hypothesized the existence of "a 'threshold' level of language proficiency below which there would be essentially no relationship between proficiency and world knowledge, but above which (effectively masked by the total data) relatively substantial effects might be present."[14]

Many language teachers insist that the kind of global information and set of attitudes which are measured in the ETS survey are not what foreign language courses are supposed to produce. At the very least, however, the ETS data indicate that it is necessary to specify a little more clearly just what the secondary benefits of foreign language learning are. And to follow Barrows and Clark's argument, what is the minimum amount of time needed for these benefits to set in? Or to ask the question more generally, how can we guarantee in each semester of language instruction the greatest return in terms of perceptual and attitudinal growth? We need to maximize the impact of each segment of foreign language instruction on producing transnational understanding and knowledge. How long that training must be to accomplish that purpose becomes the second question.

We know of no research specifically dedicated to this issue, although, in an indirect way, it is beginning to be addressed in discussions now taking place in the field concerning the proper role of culture in foreign language instruction. It is indirect because these discussions do not quite address the question of the extent to which foreign language learning produces greater intercultural knowledge and awareness. They tend to view a knowledge of another culture as a necessary component in the development of a foreign language skill;[15] they do not entertain the general education argument that the development of transcultural empathy is a by-product of foreign language learning. The research necessary to establish a calculus for measuring the amount of international understanding derived from different amounts and styles of foreign language instruction remains to be done.

The contribution of limited amounts of foreign language learning to a student's general education is particularly relevant for community colleges and other institutions where the single-semester language course is often found, and in comprehensive institutions where the one-year language course is very common.

Determining the general educational benefits of collegiate foreign language instruction becomes even more pressing when we note that a very substantial portion of incoming students have had some exposure to language learning in secondary and primary school. What is the educational value added of foreign language instruction at the college level for students who have already had two years or more of foreign language study in high school? The ACE/UCLA annual reports on the characteristics of a national sample of college and university freshmen indicate that in 1983, 64.2 percent of all students had studied at least two years of a foreign language before their arrival.[16] By 1987, the proportion had increased to 73.4 percent.[17] In universities, by 1987 the proportion of freshmen who had taken at least two years of high school foreign language instruction had risen to 88.6 percent from 79.6 percent four years earlier. Even in two-year institutions, 58 percent of entering freshman had studied a foreign language for two years. Yet we found very few colleges reporting any adjustment of their own language teaching program to reflect the greater precollegiate language training of incoming students. A very few institutions have altered their language requirements to take cognizance of these changed circumstances. For instance, as noted earlier, Swarthmore's solution to the problem of language requirements was to push the responsibility for skill-oriented foreign language education back on the high schools. No other institutions in our sample seemed to take this approach. Nor was Swarthmore's decision based upon the presumed general educational benefits of foreign language learning.

A careful review of the general education benefits of college-level foreign language instruction when added to high school instruction would be quite useful, if only to target more carefully the content and purposes of that instruction.

Foreign language study as skill development. If one values foreign language study not so much for its presumed by-product of promoting transcultural understanding and knowledge, but for the creation of a specific skill—the ability to comprehend and use a particular foreign language—then the limited length of time a language is studied, and its relationship to previous secondary or primary school education, becomes a different issue. Now the steepness of the drop-off between the first and the second semester in lower-level courses, and between the lower- and intermediate-level courses is of great concern. It raises questions about how much skill can realistically be developed in the very limited time normally allocated to foreign language study.

Performance Norms Keyed to Length of Study

One of our great national needs is the establishment of some realistic norms of how much foreign language skill acquisition can take place with different amounts of instruction, in different kinds of languages, in different learning situations. Rough standards of the kind we seek have been developed for full-time, intensive instruction in government language-teaching programs. For instance, the Foreign Service Institute estimates that it takes their average student 240 hours within eight weeks of classroom time studying French, German, and Spanish to reach what they refer to as a 1 to 1+ speaking proficiency, that is, what they call elementary proficiency. They define this level as the ability "to satisfy minimum courtesy requirements and maintain very simple face-to-face conversations on familiar topics." It is possible that college students will take less—or more—time, but if one assumes five hours a week of language classes as typical of college-level language instruction, it should take college students about a year and a half—3.2 semesters—to take this many hours of instruction. If the classes meet only three hours a week, it would take two and a half years—5.3 semesters. And this is for the "easy" languages. For languages that are least like our own, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Arabic, twice that amount of time is required—and this is for spoken competency only.

With their difficult orthographies, learning to read these languages significantly adds to the hours required. The government estimates, while approximate and developed for other learning situations, are undoubtedly proportionally realistic for college instruction as well.

It is against such a standard of competency that the relative contribution of various amounts of study time should be judged. If collegiate language courses provide the only instruction in a particular language many students get, then certainly a semester (and perhaps even a year, which is the typical length of language study for college students) produces a competency well below the elementary level as defined by the Foreign Service Institute. This limited amount of training may prepare a student for later language learning, or provide general metalinguistic language learning skills,[18] but the ability to function in the language is quite limited and likely to fade very quickly if not used.

Language teachers know this. It is why some teachers press for multi-year language requirements of the kind that are routine in many European countries. They know that student expectations of the amount of skill to be acquired in brief periods of time are often unrealistically high. They know that students often feel that a great deal of progress has been made in the first months of foreign language learning, but that settling in for the hard work of cumulative acquisition in the second and third years is more demanding and less productive of apparent progress. They know that many students adopt two contradictory beliefs: (1) that one can develop a usable foreign language skill in a few months of limited classroom study; and (2) that Americans can never really become fluent in speaking a foreign language. It is this second belief that nurtures the common experience of American students who find themselves in Europe after four or five years of high school and college French or Spanish unable to start, let alone carry on, a conversation in these languages. It is because of the first belief that the truly radical innovations in American foreign language teaching tend to concentrate heavily on the first six months of instruction, with less attention to higher levels of skills. We tend to cater to the myth of the quick fix.

From the perspective, then, of giving students meaningful foreign language skills, and given our tradition of student-driven course selection, several of the key agenda items for the development of language instruction at the college level emerge. How can we motivate students to continue language study to the point where they can attain a practical level of skill? What are the most suitable teaching and learning strategies to make real skill acquisition possible? And in particular, what needs to be done at the crucial intermediate and advanced levels of instruction so that more students obtain genuinely usable language skills?

An Individual-Specific, Longitudinal Perspective

If we add two years of high school language instruction to a year or two of college-level instruction, there probably is enough time to get students to a noticeable level of foreign language proficiency, even using the government's estimates of the amount of classroom time required. And if one adds other language learning opportunities, such as a stint in a study abroad program or informal language practice in facilities such as foreign language tables in dining halls or residential language houses, the amount of time some students invest in learning a foreign language can be very substantial. The trouble is that all of the bits and pieces of language learning are rarely put together. What is needed is a method of making cumulative the language learning experiences of individual learners.

Discontinuities in the system. Just counting how many semesters or years a student has devoted to language study is not enough, particularly when the counting is done separately for each educational level. For instance, as part of this survey we made a concerted effort to link high school records with college-level records in order to determine how many foreign language courses different kinds of students took at the various education levels in several states. No state or local system was able to provide this information. Some of the national studies of cohorts of individuals moving through the system do give a limited retrospective view of language courses taken by high school students,[19] and a few college-level cohort studies indicate the language course taking patterns of college undergraduates.[20] But a system for tracking student language learning experience across educational levels is nonexistent.

However, even in the absence of conclusive evidence, the data that are available indicate a startling lack of continuity in the national system of language instruction. For instance, the pattern of steep enrollment gradients, indicating a lack of student persistence in studying a foreign language, appears at the high school level as well as at the college level. Table 7.13 indicates the continuation rates of students between each level of foreign language instruction in high school. It takes a cohort of students successfully completing the first year of foreign langauge instruction and indicates the percentage of that cohort that was enrolled in each subsequent level.

It is clear that the same kind of attrition of student interest in foreign language study takes place at the high school level as at the college level. Like college students, most high school students just do not get enough foreign language training to matter much.

Aside from these language course drop-out rates, there is another kind of discontinuity that is equally damaging for long-term foreign language acquisition. The available data do not make clear in which grades high school language instruction usually takes place. However, interviews with both collegiate language department chairs and language administrators at the precollegiate level indicated that all too often foreign language instruction at the high school level was given in the ninth and tenth grades, making a

Table 7.13: Percentage of a Cohort of High School Students Who Took the Next Higher Level Courses after Passing the Previous Level

	Percentage of Students Who—		
Language	Took Level 2 after Passing Level 1	Took Level 3 after Passing Level 2	Took Level 4 after Passing Level 3
French	59.2	27.5	11.6
German	64.2	34.0	17.4
Latin	49.1	16.1	5.4
Spanish	58.6	21.1	6.9

Source: William B. Fetters and Jeffrey A. Owens, *High School and Beyond: Tabulation: Foreign Language Course Taking by 1980 High School Sophomores Who Graduated in 1983* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984).

two-year gap between high school and college-level instruction. This amount of lapsed time and the low level of skill the student has initially achieved is almost a guarantee of language skill attrition.

This typical interruption in the sequence of foreign language instruction may account for the lack of enthusiasm for high school preparation we found among many college language department chairs: of the 64 we surveyed, 14 said high school language training was practically nonexistent as far as their students are concerned; 21 said it was poor; 27 said it was fair; and only 2 said it was good. At the same time, many language teachers we met from good high schools lamented the fact that their best students often reported that what they had accomplished in high school, particularly the attainment of speaking skills, was not well utilized at the college level.

The lack of integration between the mushrooming foreign language programs at the elementary school level and the secondary school level is even greater. Planning for carry-over into high school of foreign language skills learned in elementary school is very limited indeed.

In our interviews we found another curious lack of integration. Most post-secondary institutions do provide entering freshmen with an option of taking an examination to assess their foreign language skills at the time of matriculation from high school. What is curious is that the rationale for administering entry-level tests is rarely to measure a student's foreign language competency for the purpose of building on it and helping him or her go on to higher levels, or to encourage the student to use his or her language skills in college—it is to excuse the student from all or part of the language requirement. More than one chairperson told us that the intent of these exams was to block students who were seeking an easy "A" through repeating language training they had had in high school. If previous training were discovered, the student would be immediately transferred into a class in another foreign language. It was much less common for us to find situations in which high school language learning was looked on as something to build upon, except perhaps to spot a potential major.

The lack of cumulativeness of foreign language learning within and between levels of the educational system constitutes a waste of the students' and the faculty's time and resources. A shift from a level- and course-specific way of viewing foreign language instruction to one that is individual-specific and cumulative is needed. Fortunately, there are formal and informal organizations in place to work on such issues. One of the most successful and most widespread is the Academic Alliance System, developed by Connecticut College president Claire Gaudiani, that provides for continuous consultation between high school and college language teachers on matters of common concern. Trans-school planning and the development of a system of tracking of cumulative language skill acquisition of individual students is a natural agenda for this and similar groups.

In addition, within colleges and universities, foreign language planning ought to build upon the prior training that students bring to the campus.

High-achievement learners. The focus in the American foreign language educational system of providing as many people as possible with some language training has meant that almost no attention has been paid to providing a high level of skill to those students who are both good language learners and for various reasons motivated to high achievement. To break out of the current system that is, to use a cliché, "a mile wide and an inch deep," we need to take the longitudinal perspective which we urged in the previous section.

In particular, in foreign language education we need to start planning for the college level—and for that matter graduate school—beginning at least at the high school level. There are an increasing number of quite good language instructional programs in our high schools. Moreover, there are now, as there always have been, frequent conjunctions of a gifted teacher and a gifted learner. More generally, many good students do persevere with foreign language learning. The semester-to-semester retention rate in foreign language classes for high school students is as much as 50 percent higher for students who get A's and B's in foreign language classes than it is for enrollees in general.[21] The current structure of the language education system at the high school level, partitioned as it is into semesters and years, and confined as it tends to be to the lower levels of instruction, has little room for nurturing cumulative skills to a high level of competency for those students who can and want to acquire it.

We have no system of identifying effective learners early in their schooling; of giving them special opportunities to improve their skills; of assuring them of continuity and cumulativeness in their language learning; of helping them to develop their skills to the highest possible level both in the United States and abroad; and above all, no way of letting them utilize those skills in courses and activities related to their substantive interests in or out of their major. While there may be special sections of courses for good language learners in skill-oriented language courses, there is no sequential "track" that moves good language learners ahead more rapidly and more completely than the general group of students.

A national system that wants to build genuinely high-level competency in some students would have a way of identifying good students in high school, both by their aptitude and by their demonstrated accomplishments in class. These students should have in their own school a special honors track that recognizes and encourages the use of a foreign language. The very best students should compete to attend at the state level something equivalent to a "language study governor's school" which would be geared to their special accomplishments and needs. They could be sent to one of the several summer intensive programs at the college level that draw a national clientele. Travel fellowships could be provided for the summer, particularly the doldrums between high school and college, to give them an opportunity to hone their language skills to a higher level. For the present purpose, the important point is not just the establishment of these special summer schools and programs—many states already have them—but that they deliberately face toward and are integrated with both high school and college language training. It will not help if they become yet another discontinuity in a student's history of foreign language learning.

The advantage of such a system would be that it would raise the level of foreign language competencies of a significant set of students, but it would also present the colleges and universities with freshmen whose language skills could be expanded and built on. A foreign language competency could become an important component in the rest of their college education. Surely the true role of foreign languages at the college level lies beyond the mastery of the foreign language skills per se. It is the access those language skills give to the particular knowledge and perspectives of other nations that is of the most importance, for this information is directly applicable to the humanities, the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the professions—to all of the substantive realms of undergraduate education. Yet our undergraduate educational system is very rarely directed to this goal.

Given the administrative will, such a system would not be difficult to initiate at the secondary school level, where centrally planned curricular change has a firm tradition. However, in most universities, and many colleges, the institutional ability to implement centralized planning of course-level content for foreign languages is usually quite limited. It should be possible, however, to introduce some options that could utilize the enhanced language skills such a supplemented high school system presented. It should be possible to create pathways in college that build upon high-level language skills other than the usual one now available—becoming a language major or minor, with a special emphasis on literature. Foreign language education and utilization has to become an institutionwide objective, just as the ability to write standard English now is.

As we noted at the outset, successfully accomplishing institutionwide initiatives in a college or university setting is a task for Sisyphus. Departmental and course autonomy win most of the battles. There are, however, three steps that can be taken to move ahead.

Expanded upper-level language courses. In taking advantage of higher foreign language competencies among incoming students, particularly those who may benefit from new "tracks" tailored to their special skills and interest, special attention should be paid to the development of truly advanced language training. We need a major research and development effort focused on providing high-level skills to selected students in the college setting. Prototypes for such courses already exist in the advanced conversation or writing courses, but they tend to be very lightly attended, and they focus on segmental skills. What is needed are courses which bring general skills to as high a level as possible. The experience gained in existing upper-level courses will be a good starting place. In addition, we need to draw upon the growing body of relevant knowledge in applied linguistics; the extensive experience other countries have had in taking students to a truly high level of skill in a wide variety of languages; our own experience in the government training centers and in cooperative university programs for advanced language study overseas; and the immense expertise we have developed on our campuses in teaching English to foreign students. It is time we raised our goals and our expectations regarding college language learning.

Foreign language learning and study abroad. A very substantial portion of our study abroad programs are devoted to foreign language training. Out of the courses for which the students in our transcript sample received overseas credit, 25 percent were skill-oriented language courses and 19 percent were literature courses. One of the most pressing research needs in international studies is a review of the content of such foreign language instruction programs abroad, and particularly what they contribute to the language competencies of students. There are very few surveys of what happens in such programs, or what value is added by study in a country where the language is spoken.[22] On the one hand, there is the assumption that students learn better in a language-rich environment and that there are many aspects of language learning that can only be learned—or are more efficiently learned—in the country where the language is spoken. On the other hand, anecdotal evidence and the results of the few empirical studies give a much more mixed impression. In some cases, overseas training is reported to be not very different from training on the home campus. Students sit in classrooms utilizing the same text materials, sometimes with the same American professor supervising the instruction, and associating mainly with each other. The surrounding language-use environment is related in an unstructured way to the students' own acquisition strategies.

Individual students vary immensely in their ability to learn in an overseas environment. Few students are taught how to learn outside the classroom. Some students find ways to perform more fluently at the same level that they achieved prior to coming abroad, but they do not move very far ahead in overall language command. Host countries sometimes set up separate language teaching enterprises which adjust their standards to what most American students are likely to learn. Other countries insist that language instruction be conducted by their regular language teaching faculty in regular classes in their universities with no accommodation of the language-learning styles of American students. These and many other caveats emerge from individual students' accounts of their experiences in learning a foreign language in study abroad programs, and from an unsystematic on-site review of a number of study abroad language programs in seven different countries. It would seem to be a high-priority agenda item for the field to discover just what is actually learned by what kind of students in what kind of learning environment, and how this compares with what they would have learned at home. There is, in fact, a research project underway to make just such a determination in the study of Russian and Japanese.[23]

For the present discussion concerning the attainment of advanced foreign language skills, two aspects of the current situation need to be emphasized. First, the point in the language-learning sequence when most students go abroad for foreign language instruction is too early for them to use their overseas experience most effectively. Second, except for foreign language majors, once students have upgraded their foreign language skills by study abroad there is little opportunity back on the home campus for them to utilize their skills in the rest of their education. Attrition begins as they step onto the plane home.

At what stage in their language learning do most students go abroad? In Table 7.14, we present an enumeration taken from the analysis of the 8,439 transcripts. It indicates whether undergraduates who studied abroad had taken any courses in the language of the country and to what level prior to their travel. Omitted from the table are students who went to English-speaking countries, so that only students placed in a foreign language environment are included. The data are presented only for the students at baccalaureate colleges because the samples for the larger universities do not reflect the characteristics of those who study abroad. Too few university students who study abroad are caught in the small cross-sectional sample. However, the general impression emerging from the data for these other institutional types is that for universities and comprehensive institutions, language training prior to study abroad is even more limited, and for the two-year institutions, almost nonexistent.

The conclusion to be drawn from this table is clear. Of the students who go to non-English-speaking countries, 38 percent do so with no college-level training in the language of the country they will visit. Among those who do have prior language training, the great majority (78 percent) have had only elementary-level courses in the language; 20 percent have had intermediate-level courses; and only 2 percent have had advanced courses. This pattern is reflected in the level of the language courses that students enroll in while they are abroad: our transcript analysis indicated that 53.9 percent of the language-related courses students took overseas were at the elementary level; 28.7 percent were at the intermediate level; and only 17.4 percent were at the advanced level.

In short, the most common pattern is for students either to go abroad without foreign language training or to take their second year of language instruction abroad, often cramming the equivalent of a year's home course work into summer study abroad. Indeed, satisfying the second year of a language requirement with a summer's work abroad is a common motivation for study abroad. The consequence of this pattern is that almost all study abroad programs outside the English-speaking countries become de facto foreign language programs. This is particularly true in countries such as the Soviet Union, or those in East Asia or the Middle East, where the ability to cope in the local

Table 7.14: Language Study prior to Study-Abroad Experience, by Country Visited and Level of Language Study

Study-Abroad Country	Total Students	Level of Language Study Completed prior to Study Abroad							
		Elementary		Intermediate		Advanced		Any Lang. Study	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Europe									
France	152	101	66	32	21	—	—	133	88
West Germany	69	42	61	8	16	5	7	55	80
Spain	71	49	69	7	10	1	1	57	80
Soviet Union	9	8	89	—	—	—	—	8	89
Other Europe	77	6	8	4	5	—	—	10	13
Latin America	23	6	26	7	30	—	—	13	57
Asia									
Japan	43	22	51	1	2	—	—	23	53
China and Taiwan	12	9	75	—	—	—	—	9	75
Other Asia	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Middle East	12	1	8	1	8	—	—	2	17
Africa	27	—	—	1	4	—	—	1	4
All countries	505	244	48	61	12	6	1	311	62

Source: Transcript analysis.

Note: Of the 311 students who went to a country in which a foreign language was spoken and who had had at least some language training prior to study abroad, 78 percent (244/311) took courses at the elementary level, 20 percent (61/311) at the intermediate level, and 2 percent (6/311) at the advanced level.

— No students or percentage.

language is essential to survival. Moreover, it is very difficult for students to take any substantive training at the overseas universities they attend because their level of language competence is too low. That is, unless the institution mounts substantive courses in English, or students attend one of the American institutions abroad that teach in English, their course work is essentially confined to learning a language. Even outside of the classroom, for many language learners the point where immersion in a foreign culture is most helpful is at a somewhat higher level than that which they achieved prior to their sojourn—the level at which the basics of production and listening skills have been mastered and the student is able to concentrate on the rich linguistic variety that only the host country can present. We are the only country in the world that sends students abroad for study with such a low level of foreign language competency.

One of the costs of this is that many students come back with middle-level rather than high-level language skills, perpetuating the general pattern of limited foreign language competencies among American undergraduates. This may be just as well. As we noted earlier, aside from foreign language majors, they will find very little in their future course work that will utilize these skills. Those with a high level of skills whose competencies and interests might change the monolingual nature of undergraduate education have little or no outlet for their new linguistic ability. It would, however, make a major contribution to high-level skill acquisition if students knew that a language competency attained abroad could be utilized in courses relevant to their degree back home.

Foreign language utilization in substantive courses. What is true of study abroad alumni is true more generally on the campus. Few developments would have greater promise for the enhancement of foreign language skills among undergraduates than the provision of opportunities to utilize those skills in courses whose purpose is to teach a particular subject matter or discipline, not to improve language skills. It would be even more effective if those courses were not just area studies courses on the country, but substantive courses on topics relevant to the student's degree. If students learn in their undergraduate college that all that is worth learning is available in English, they are likely to continue with this misconception throughout their lives. There is almost nothing in their undergraduate education to convince them otherwise. Each year, in an absent-minded fashion, we visit our national linguistic blinders on yet another generation.

Breaking this cycle is not something that the language faculty can do on its own. It is also in the courses in other departments that the necessary change must take place. We must afford students the opportunity to sample writings in non-English tongues in a significant number of substantive courses. Providing this opportunity is a responsibility of the institution as a whole and of the disciplinary departments in particular.

Today, the utilization of foreign language skills in substantive courses other than literature is very rare. This conclusion comes not only from our campus interviews, but also from several different kinds of data in our survey. First, in examining the 10,467 courses in our survey, the coders were instructed to mark any courses in which the catalogue description indicated that foreign language readings would be used in the course. In the unlikely event that the course was to be taught in a foreign language, special note was to be made of it. The results were not surprising: outside of literature courses, we found no statement of prior language requirements for admission to a course.

Second, in an independent study in 1981, I went through the catalogues of ten institutions looking for just such courses. At that time I found five such courses at the undergraduate level.[24] In 1987 we went back over the same catalogues and found a few, but not many, additional courses. They tended to occur mainly in connection with area studies majors, or in history departments. They included such courses as "Paris in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," a course required of majors in French Studies; "French Anthropological Studies in Africa"; "Jews in Arab Lands in Modern Times"; "Studies in Colonial Latin American History"; and "Indians of South America"—all area studies courses. In most cases, the catalogue said that knowledge of the language was helpful but not essential. Things have changed some in eight years, but not much.

Third, in the current study, to assure that we were not missing courses requiring the use of foreign language materials that were not listed by the catalogues, we secured the lists of required reading for courses. We searched the lists for books or articles in foreign languages. Outside of readings for literature courses, none appeared. No doubt we have missed isolated examples of foreign language use in nonlanguage and literature courses, but it seems safe to say that in most institutions, their occurrence is, to say the least, unusual.

The reasons for this situation are many, not least of which is an essentially monolingual faculty. But even where some faculty members do have the foreign language competency, what hampers the use of foreign language course materials is the generally low level of students' language skills. When deliberate attempts are made to develop disciplinary courses with a foreign language component, as at Earlham College, a great deal of effort has to be invested in glossaries and other linguistic aids so that what was supposed to be the discovery of enriched meaning turns into a slow translation course. One of the limitations in the use of many of the new communications devices which provide opportunities for live communication across national boundaries is that the students' language competencies are so low that they cannot really process the information that has been made available. The reception of news programs by satellite, which is increasingly available on more and more campuses, must be mediated by either simultaneous translation or close-captioning. Most American students are just not up to drinking from the firehose of information that spurts out of those broadcasts, no matter how vivid, how visual, or how immediate the message. Most of them are still acquiring fundamental language skills when they should be taking in this information and these fresh perspectives.

It is clear that breaking this pattern will require the effort of many people spread across a number of disciplines—and hopefully schools. It is, after all, the sociologist or the economist, the microbiologist or the specialist on international finance, who is going to have to introduce foreign language materials into his or her course. This means investing in the upgrading of existing faculty competencies, or the introduction of foreign language competency among the desiderata in selecting new disciplinary appointees. It also means, as I have been arguing, establishing foreign-language-relevant tracks for students who, combining high school and collegiate training, can and will become proficient in a foreign language. Our interviews indicate that these sorts of students exist, and with interesting combinations of skills: a combined microbiology and German major at a major southern university; an engineering student back from a Peace Corps experience in Latin America; a sociology student who had spent a year registered in a Swedish university. Students also told us that the educational system, particularly in the sciences with their huge claim on a student's course load and the free-elective-consuming pre-med requirements, inhibits the pursuit of such interests. Institutions that are serious about upgrading their students' foreign language competencies are going to have to go against the pressure of departmental priorities. Individual students can rarely win in such a battle.

Languages Taught and Taken

It will come as a surprise to no one that undergraduate foreign language instruction, like study abroad, is still heavily focused on Western European languages. The MLA's figures indicated that in 1986, 80 percent of total enrollments were in just three languages: Spanish, French, and German.[25] Looking to the future, the United States' expanding relations with many countries make it difficult to set forth a case for the continuation of so narrow a concentration of languages offered to our students. An overwhelming concentration on Western European languages still makes some sense within Europe, as those countries prepare themselves for the transition into a single market in 1992. It makes much less sense for the United States.

What is less often noted is that many institutions, particularly universities and baccalaureate colleges, have already broadened their language coverage. Russian now has 28 percent of the enrollment of German. Japanese enrollments have increased by 119 percent over the past ten years, 45 percent in the last three years, and are now only 10,000 lower than those in Russian. Indeed, the growth of Russian at the college level seems to have stagnated—although the new linkages with the Soviet Union that have come about as a result of *glasnost* may change this—and the high growth rate for Japanese indicates that it may soon pass Russian, and after that Italian, as a widely taught language.

Many of the major universities have been assisted in their development of substantial Russian and Japanese programs, as well as many of the other less commonly taught languages, by the establishment of federally funded, graduate-level language and area studies centers. The least commonly taught languages—Tamil, Quechua, Ibo, Uzbek—are found only in such centers. Since most of these courses are also open to undergraduates, many universities now offer their students a very wide assortment of languages.[26] However, even with this immense variety of languages offered, most students tend to enroll in the few commonly taught languages. It is a rare undergraduate who will take Malayalam, for instance, even though his or her institution offers it.

What is a little less frequently remarked upon is the spread of instruction in the non–Western European languages in other institutions, particularly in baccalaureate colleges. We do not have a full national inventory of foreign language offerings, but our survey does permit us to give a limited cross-sectional view of the range of languages and levels thereof that the different types of institutions offer. In Table 7.15 we give several different kinds of information on the dispersion of instruction in various languages: how widespread the offering of each language is among institutions of each type; how high a level of instruction in each language those institutions offer; what percentage of the student body takes instruction in each language in any course at all; and the percentage of students who continue each level. Information in the first column of each institutional set is taken from our analysis of college catalogues and registrars' enrollment figures. It indicates the number of institutions in each class that offered any course in a particular language, and those that offered a course up to a particular level—elementary, intermediate, and advanced. No course is included in this tabulation unless it either had an undergraduate enrollment in 1985-86 or appeared as a course taken at that institution by one or more graduates of that year. Information in the second column of each institutional set is drawn from the transcript analysis. It indicates the percentage of all students in each type of institution who took any course in a particular language, and those who took courses up to each level of instruction. Taking as example the data on Russian, 12 universities out of 13 offer instruction in Russian, 3 of them to the intermediate level and 9 to the advanced level. In these institutions 1.8 percent of students take Russian; 0.8 percent took Russian only to the elementary level; 0.6 percent took it to the intermediate level; and 0.5 percent took it to the advanced level. In short, only 1.1 percent of the university student body took Russian to what might be called a minimally useful level, that is, the intermediate or advanced level. Looking across institutional types, while 10 out of 12 baccalaureate institutions in our sample offered Russian, only 2.9 percent of their students took Russian, the majority of them only to the elementary level.

In general, the data in this table reinforce what has been said earlier. The bulk of language instruction takes place in Spanish, French, and German. Only these languages reach a substantial portion of the student body, and only 44.3 percent of university undergraduates take any course in even these languages (37.6 percent in comprehensive and 59.5 percent in baccalaureate institutions). No other language even gets close to enrolling 5 percent of the student body. Similarly, 5 percent or less of the students reach advanced levels even in the three commonly taught languages in any of the institutional categories. In the less commonly taught languages, the number of undergraduates taking advanced-level instruction is minuscule. The small role played by foreign language instruction in the community colleges is also evident. Only 27.3 percent of their students take any course in Spanish, French, or German, and the level of training they get is uniformly low. With a few exceptions, other languages are not offered in the two-year institutions.

Allowing for the historical tendency to concentrate foreign language instruction in a few Western European languages, what is surprising is the number of liberal arts colleges that do offer courses in other languages. Half or more of the institutions offer Italian, Russian, Japanese, and Chinese. Where one of these languages is offered, institutions tend to teach at least two years of the language. In addition to these languages, at least one baccalaureate institution out of the 13 in our sample offers instruction in one or another of the following languages: Hindi/Urdu, Persian, Serbo-Croatian, Portugese, Swedish, Dutch, Danish, Yiddish, modern Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Swahili, Yoruba, Thai/Lao, Korean. The majority of them also teach classical Greek and Latin.

It seems likely that the pressure on colleges to expand their language offerings outside of those commonly taught is going to increase, if only because of pressures from students who are going to be bringing some training in these languages to college with them from high school and in some cases elementary school. Expansion of instruction at these levels, while still a very small proportion of all language instruction, is well

Table 7.15: Institutions Offering and Percentage of Students Taking Language Courses, by Language, Level of Offering, and Institutional Type, 1986

	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-year	
Language and Level	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]
Hindi/Urdu								
Any course	1	<.1			1	0.1		
Highest level								
Elementary					1	0.1		
Intermediate								
Advanced	1	<.1						
Persian								
Any course	2	0.1			1	<.1		
Highest level								
Elementary					1	<.1		
Intermediate	1	0.1						
Advanced	1	<.1						
Other Iranian								
Any course	1	<.1						
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate	1	<.1						
Advanced								
Russian								
Any course	12	1.8	6	1.6	10	2.9	4	0.5
Highest level								
Elementary		0.8		0.4	3	1.6	3	0.5
Intermediate	3	0.6	2	0.6	1	0.8	1	
Advanced	9	0.5	4	0.5	6	0.6		
Polish								
Any course	4	0.1						
Highest Level								
Elementary	2	<.1						
Intermediate	4	<.1						
Advanced								
Czech and Slovak								
Any course	2	<.1						
Highest level								
Elementary	1	<.1						
Intermediate								
Advanced	1							

underway, in some cases with the specific encouragement of foundations or governments. For instance, the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation invested $2.8 million in the expansion of Chinese language instruction at the high school level in 90 school districts. The Ford Foundation invested $475,000 in a program to subsidize the education of graduate students in Russian studies who will then go on to teach Russian in high schools. A new federally funded program will provide for exchanges between a set of American high schools with their Russian counterparts, including sending students to spend time at each other's institutions. Almost every state in the United States has drawn up plans for expanding its instruction in Japanese at the high school level. For example, Michigan now requires every school district to offer instruction in Japanese within the next few years. External pressures, both from students and from the surrounding community, combined with the institution's own desire to adjust to the new global

Table 7.15: Institutions Offering and Percentage of Students Taking Language Courses, by Language, Level of Offering, and Institutional Type, 1986 *(continued)*

	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-Year	
Language and Level	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]
Serbo-Croatian								
Any course	1	<.1	1		1	<.1		
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate		<.1	1		1	<.1		
Advanced	1							
Bulgarian								
Any course	1							
Highest level								
Elementary	1							
Intermediate								
Advanced								
Ukranian								
Any course	1	<.1						
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate								
Advanced	1	<.1						
Other Slavic								
Any course	1	0.1	1					
Highest level								
Elementary		<.1						
Intermediate								
Advanced	1	<.1	1					
French								
Any course	13	16.8	9	13.7	13	24.7	6	7.5
Highest level								
Elementary		7.8		8.0		9.9		5.5
Intermediate	1	7.1	2	3.0	4	9.7	3	1.7
Advanced	12	1.9	7	2.5	9	5.2	3	0.3
Spanish								
Any course	13	20.4	10	16.3	13	21.0	6	18.3
Highest level								
Elementary		9.2		12.3		11.7		10.3
Intermediate	1	9.1	3	3.1	2	7.3	2	7.7
Advanced	12	2.1	7	0.9	11	2.1	4	0.3
Italian								
Any course	11	2.4	5	2.4	8	2.0	5	1.3
Highest level								
Elementary	2	1.7	1	1.9	3	1.2	1	0.8
Intermediate	5	0.6	1	0.2	4	0.7	2	0.5
Advanced	4	0.1	3	0.2	1	0.1	2	
Portuguese								
Any course	9	0.6	1	0.2	3	0.4	1	
Highest level								
Elementary	3	0.2	1	0.2	2	0.1	1	
Intermediate	3	0.3			1	0.4		
Advanced	3	<.1						
German								
Any course	13	7.1	10	7.6	12	13.8	5	1.5
Highest level								
Elementary		3.9	2	4.3	1	6.3	1	1.2
Intermediate	1	2.4	2	1.3	3	4.3	2	0.4
Advanced	12	0.7	6	2.0	8	3.2	2	

Table 7.15: Institutions Offering and Percentage of Students Taking Language Courses, by Language, Level of Offering, and Institutional Type, 1986 (*continued*)

	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-Year	
Language and Level	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]
Swedish								
Any course	4	0.2			2	0.4		
Highest level								
Elementary		0.1			2	0.4		
Intermediate	2	0.1						
Advanced	2							
Dutch								
Any course	4		1	0.1	1	<.1		
Highest level								
Elementary	1							
Intermediate	2		1	0.1	1	<.1		
Advanced	1							
Norwegian								
Any course	2	0.1						
Highest level								
Elementary		<.1						
Intermediate	1							
Advanced	1	0.1						
Danish								
Any course	3	0.2			2	0.1		
Highest level								
Elementary	1	0.2			1	<.1		
Intermediate	1				1	<.1		
Advanced	1							
Yiddish								
Any course	2	<.1			2	1.2		
Highest level								
Elementary		<.1			1	<.1		
Intermediate	1				1	1.1		
Advanced	1							
Modern Greek								
Any course	6	0.1			7	0.9		
Highest level								
Elementary	2	<.1			3	0.5		
Intermediate	3	0.1			3	0.2		
Advanced	1				1	0.1		
Armenian								
Any course	6	0.2						
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate	4	<.1						
Advanced	2	0.1						
Arabic								
Any course	5	0.5	2	0.1	4	0.3	1	
Highest level								
Elementary	1	0.5	1	0.1	3	0.2	1	
Intermediate	1				1	0.1		
Advanced	3	<.1	1					
Hebrew								
Any course	8	1.2	2	0.1	6	0.6	2	
Highest level								
Elementary	1	0.9	1	0.1	3	0.3	1	
Intermediate	5	0.3	1		2	0.2		
Advanced	2				1	0.1		

Table 7.15: Institutions Offering and Percentage of Students Taking Language Courses, by Language, Level of Offering, and Institutional Type, 1986 (*continued*)

	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-Year	
Language and Level	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]	No. of Inst.[a]	% of Students[b]
Swahili								
Any course	3	<.1	1		1	0.4		
Highest level								
Elementary	2	<.1	1		1	0.4		
Intermediate								
Advanced	1							
Yoruba								
Any course	1	0.3	1		2	0.1		
Highest level								
Elementary						<.1		
Intermediate	1	0.3			1	<.1		
Advanced			1		1	<.1		
Turkish								
Any course	2							
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate								
Advanced	2							
Hungarian								
Any course	1							
Highest level								
Elementary	1							
Intermediate								
Advanced								
Finnish								
Any course	1	<.1						
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate	1	<.1						
Advanced								
Mandarin Chinese								
Any course	10	1.2	4	0.7	9	1.4	2	0.5
Highest level								
Elementary		0.6	1	0.4	1	0.6		0.3
Intermediate	4	0.3		0.2	4	0.3	2	0.3
Advanced	6	0.3	3	0.2	4	0.5		
Other Chinese								
Any course	2	<.1			1	0.1		
Highest level								
Elementary					1	0.1		
Intermediate	1	<.1						
Advanced	1							
Thai-Lao								
Any course	4				1	<.1		
Highest level								
Elementary	2							
Intermediate	1				1	<.1		
Advanced	1	<.1						
Japanese								
Any course	11	2.2	5	1.8	7	2.9	2	0.2
Highest level								
Elementary	1		2	1.5	1	1.3		0.2
Intermediate	2	0.5	1	0.3	1	0.8	1	
Advanced	8	0.8	2	0.1	5	0.7	1	

Table 7.15: Institutions Offering and Percentage of Students Taking Language Courses, by Language, Level of Offering, and Institutional Type, 1986 (*continued*)

Language and Level	University		Comprehensive		Baccalaureate		Two-Year	
	No. of Inst.^{a}	% of Students^b	No. of Inst.^{a}	% of Students^b	No. of Inst.^{a}	% of Students^b	No. of Inst.^{a}	% of Students^b
Korean								
Any course	3	0.1	2	<.1	3	0.1	1	
Highest level								
Elementary	1		1	<.1		<.1	1	
Intermediate	1	0.1	1		1	<.1		
Advanced	1				2			
Tamil								
Any course	1		1	<.1				
Highest level								
Elementary								
Intermediate								
Advanced	1		1	<.1				
Other mod. language								
Any course	2	0.2	2	<.1	8	0.7		
Highest level								
Elementary			1	<.1	7	0.6		
Intermediate			1		1	0.1		
Advanced	2	0.2						
Classical Greek								
Any course	5	0.5	3	0.4	8	1.2	1	
Highest level								
Elementary	1	0.1	1	0.2	4	1.2	1	
Intermediate	1	0.3	1		1	<.1		
Advanced	3	<.1	1	0.1	3	<.1		
Latin								
Any course	13	2.7	4	0.5	10	3.6	2	0.2
Highest level								
Elementary	3	1.9	3	0.5	4	2.8	1	0.2
Intermediate	8	0.8	1		3	0.8	1	
Advanced	2				3	<.1		

Sources: Catalog, course, and transcript analysis.

Notes: Advanced level includes graduate-level courses and mixed graduate and undergraduate courses in addition to advanced undergraduate courses.

Cases that show an entry in the "No. of Inst." column but nothing in the "% of Students" column indicate that there are courses offered at that instructional level, but no students in the transcript population took them.

Cases where there are entries in the elementary and/or intermediate levels in the "students" column but none in the "institution" column indicate that the institutions offer elementary and intermediate courses in addition to courses at the advanced level where the institution is counted.

a. The figures in the "Any course" row indicate the total number of institutions that offered any course in the language indicated in the 1985–86 academic year or graduated that year a student with a course in the language recorded on his/her transcript; on the "Highest level" rows below the "Any course" row, the figures show those institutions distributed by the highest course level offered.

b. The figures in the "Any course" row show students who took any course in the language indicated as a percentage of all undergraduate students in our sample enrolled at the institutions offering any instruction in the language indicated. The course could have been taken at any time in the student's undergraduate career and at any institution—including study abroad. On the "Highest level" rows below the "Any course" row, the figures show the total percentage distributed by the highest level of course work taken by the student.

environment, are going to push more and more colleges and universities to introduce instruction in one or more of the languages spoken outside of Western Europe.

The expansion of course offerings to include non-Western languages raises in an extreme form all of the common problems of organizing foreign language instruction. First, there are problems of justifying the instruction of languages whose enrollment is likely to continue to be low. In public institutions, the calculus of FTE's presents a major restriction on such expansion. And just offering one course is never enough. To make a minimally stable program in a language, several levels of instruction must be offered. Then, to make the program worthwhile for students, some substantive courses—usually in literature and history—are usually called for, making a mini-area program. Then library resources must be acquired. Then facilities for students and faculty to go to the country where the language is spoken must be developed. And few programs are satisfied with just one instructor—if there is one today, tomorrow there will be two. In short, introducing a non-Western language is usually an expensive and expansive investment.

Second, there are problems of organization. Foreign language faculties tend to be organized into language-family-specific departments. For instance, fitting Japanese into a Romance language department is almost guaranteed to make it an administrative stepchild. Such departments have their own priorities with which the newcomer must compete for resources, support staff, promotion, and the like; and it tends to be a very uneven battle.

Third, the recruitment of qualified faculty can be difficult. To borrow an economist's term, language faculty are not fungible, that is, they cannot be moved from the teaching of one language to another. To tell a professor of German that he must now teach Japanese is absurd. Hence, for an institution, offering a new language requires the addition of new staff. We encountered many institutions trying to find a solution of minimal expense and commitment to the demand for new staff: using a string of foreign visitors under, say, the Fulbright program to teach a language; employing the spouse of an expatriate faculty member for whom the languages is a mother tongue; giving part-time employment to a foreign graduate student. However, such solutions almost guarantee that the program will not succeed. It will have shallow roots, and will encounter all of the problems inherent in using an untrained native speaker alone in a foreign language classroom—one who has no sense of how Americans learn a language—to teach a foreign language. The immense national shortage of qualified Japanese instructors in the face of the current explosive demand is threatening to lock institutions into staffing patterns that will be troublesome for a long time.

Another common solution to the need for new faculty is to try to share the costs of instruction with other institutions. Offering instruction in some of the less commonly taught languages is a characteristic feature of consortial arrangements.[27] There are several examples of such arrangements, such as Five Colleges, Inc., the five-college consortium in New England, where the institutions are close enough, the students are mobile enough, and the administrative superstructure tending to the shared enterprise is strong enough, that the consortial solution works well. However, given the immense weekly time demands and the long-term student and faculty commitment required, consortial language instruction is often quite difficult to manage successfully.

There are, in addition, various individualized instructional systems, including one maintained by the National Association of Self-Instruction Language Programs, that will provide instruction in a variety of less commonly taught languages. There is even a system based at Ohio State University that will service language learning through a telephone network. Further experiments are in progress to offer instruction via satellite, or through public educational television as is commonly done in Great Britain.

The basic problem is one of geographically concentrated teaching resources and geographically dispersed demand in the less commonly taught languages. Until our language instructional system can reduce its total dependence on classroom teaching in a face-to-face academic course setting, the addition of instruction in the non-European languages will have to be carried out within the framework of our existing colleges and universities like any other educational expansion. This will immensely limit its progress. The expansion of the less commonly taught languages is an opportunity to develop new and different systems for language instruction.

INTRA-INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

So far, we have been approaching foreign language instruction from a national perspective, indicating what changes are called for on the basis of data aggregated to the national level. In the end, however, foreign language instruction is carried out on individual campuses, and if change is to take place, it must be implemented there. Accordingly, it is useful to supplement the overall national perspective with a view of what language teachers and administrators on individual campuses see as their greatest needs. We do, in fact, have a great deal of data on this. We interviewed and/or had extensive questionnaires completed by 64 language department chairpersons. In each case, we asked what changes they believed would most advance the field. In addition, we were able to examine the funding proposals of 19 liberal arts colleges that received substantial grants from the Andrew Mellon Foundation to improve their language programs, with special reference to the less commonly taught languages.

There is a surprising uniformity in the felt needs of the foreign language field. We list elements of the common wish list below, and then suggest each element's implications with regard to national policy.

Faculty Augmentation

There is an almost universal feeling among foreign language faculty that they are understaffed for the tasks that face them. It is true that almost every academic department shares this feeling to some extent, but it seems particularly strong in the language departments. This is especially true given the new demands on faculty to teach intensive courses, invest time outside of class in supplemental instructional activities, introduce new technologies which almost always call for reduction in class size and consequently increase demands on teachers' time, participate in extradepartmental activities such as the management of study abroad or share courses, introduce nationally normed oral proficiency tests, and add to the less commonly taught languages. Where the departments are small, as in many liberal arts colleges, all of these demands descend on a handful of people.

Accordingly, the most frequently expressed need was for more staff, a demand few college and university administrators were prepared to meet. One solution is to put more of the responsibility of language learning on the student through a greater availability of non-classroom, individualized learning materials. At the national level, the problem of limited numbers of teachers on individual campuses and the need to make major transformations in college foreign language teaching make it urgent that more collective solutions be found. They include institutions agreeing to share responsibility for teaching various languages and levels of instruction (a number of liberal arts colleges included in their Mellon proposals requests for funding to make such targeted consortial arrangements work better). They include sending students to national-level summer intensive language teaching centers, or to carefully targeted overseas language training centers.

Another possible solution is the establishment of language-training institutes somewhat separate from the language departments, which will specifically focus on lower levels of language instruction, staffed by *sprachmeisters* with less than full faculty status whose sole job is to teach elementary language skills. We found several universities beginning to experiment with such structures, and a number of administrators interested in the notion. More common on the liberal arts campus was the designation of a skilled language instruction coordinator who would coordinate basic skill instruction across languages.

One of the more innovative ideas was suggested independently by the faculty at several liberal arts colleges. They would like to see a nationally funded program under which graduate language majors would intern for a year in a liberal arts college language department. It would both give the colleges more flexibility in staff assignments and provide useful teaching experience for future language specialists in a teaching environment that universities cannot provide. In short, many different initiatives need to be explored so that the upgrading of foreign language training on our campuses does not depend solely upon an increase in the number of faculty. Such expansion on individual campuses is obviously needed, but it is clearly not enough.

A second theme in faculty augmentation was a need to add or train faculty who will be expert in the growing body of knowledge on the technology of foreign language pedagogy. Many departments are already taking steps in this direction. We found a number of departments indicating that for the first time they had sought candidates with such specific pedagogical expertise, and that they had even modified their tenure-screening process to include the preparation of innovative teaching materials or research on effective teaching strategies as legitimate criteria for promotion. We believe this to be an extremely important development that should be strongly supported. Aside from hiring new staff, teachers wanted opportunities for upgrading their own skills through released time for preparation of materials utilizing new technologies, funds to participate in workshops, or fellowship support for external study.

A final theme in faculty augmentation is the need for foreign language faculty to constantly refresh their own language competencies by means of professional sojourns in countries where the language is spoken. This can be done rather readily by Spanish teachers in the Southwest who can easily make a short trip to Mexico, and with a little more difficulty by teachers of the Western European languages who can often arrange summer travel to Europe. But such irregular reinforcing of foreign language competence is not enough. What is needed is a fellowship program for travel abroad whose primary purpose is the regular refreshing of teachers' language skills.

Curricular Development

Textbooks. We found that most language teachers both depend on and, in one way or another, are unhappy with the textbooks to which their instruction is bound. In the commonly taught languages, teachers found the flood of commercially produced materials overwhelming, and would like to see some system whereby the relative effectiveness of these textbooks in various instructional settings could be judged by somebody other than the publisher and the individual language teacher. In the less commonly taught languages, the necessary materials either were nonexistent or were hard to come by and to evaluate. We found in many places that teachers are constantly creating bits and pieces of new teaching materials to supplement what is generally available in published form. We also found a general wish to share some of these materials with others and to benefit from the innovations made elsewhere. In addition, several institutions were seeking help from authoring systems that would bring expertise in curricular and materials design to the language teacher. This need was felt especially strongly in the less commonly taught languages, where even the most fundamental teaching materials were being created from scratch by many different teachers. It is obviously in the national, as well as the individual teacher's, interest to have a set of templates for effective materials productions so that the same wheel does not have to be invented in a thousand classrooms. In addition to commercial textbook publishing, some mechanism is needed to allow innovations to be available more widely and to make them cumulative in their effectiveness. This now happens in computer programming through bulletin board systems. An equivalent for foreign language teaching is sorely needed. At another level of permanence, some of the capabilities of desktop publishing should be tied to a wide distribution system that would allow the immense amount of creative energy now being invested in piecemeal advances in foreign language instruction to benefit a wider audience.

High-tech communication systems. A special aspect of materials need is the almost universal desire of language teachers to introduce authentic materials (i.e., written, film, videotape, and live television materials) into the instructional process. The faculty in almost every institution recognize that our immensely improved capacity to bring directly into the classroom other languages as they are currently being used is of potentially great importance to foreign language instruction. Students used to have to wait for foreign travel or study abroad to experience language use in its proper cultural context. Now it is possible to introduce a perception of the native use of foreign languages directly into the classroom.

On the wish list of most language departments is the purchase of high-technology communications equipment. While there is a strong feeling among language teachers that there is an immense potential in the new communications systems to benefit language instruction, mixed with this hope is a feeling of caution as they remember that past high-tech innovations have not been especially useful for language teaching.

From the individual institution's standpoint, what is needed are funds to purchase high-quality, low-cost equipment of demonstrated effectiveness, and the development of equipment whose design is not just driven by the capabilities of the particular machine but by what is most supportive of pedagogical practice. The development of software and supporting materials so that the equipment is maximally useful for individual teachers and learners is a high-priority item on the national agenda. It would not seem to be a good national strategy for every institution—or teacher—to develop separately such equipment and support materials. This is surely a domain for centralized or coordinated activity. One college president identified a very specific need that could be centrally met: the use of authentic materials such as live television broadcasts pulled in by satellite dishes requires some supplemental annotating to make them useful, indeed usable, in most college classrooms. To carry this out separately on each campus would be inefficient; a centralized service to tailor these materials for classroom use is an ideal candidate for collective action, and might be partially supported by subscriptions from institutions and individuals.

Substantive courses. Finally, in terms of curricular development, a number of interviewees and almost all of the Mellon grant applicants stressed the need to develop substantive courses other than literature in which foreign language use will take place. Since most foreign language departments lie in the humanities, it is natural for faculty members to think of "civilization" or other high-culture courses as the natural vehicle for this. Others expressed the need to develop service courses for the applied and professional disciplines, particularly business and, in Hawaii, hotel management. A few institutions talked of surrounding their language instruction with a cluster of area courses to fully absorb the students' attention. Far fewer institutions proposed to introduce foreign language use into other kinds of substantive courses.

Students

Most of the needs expressed by language departments had to do with faculty and curricular development. Student needs entered the wish list only occasionally, and then primarily in terms of increased financial aid (particularly for majors) and expanded opportunity for study abroad. It is curious how rarely academic development efforts are directed toward students, except indirectly through faculty enrichment or curricular change.

NEED FOR A NATIONAL PROGRAM

What is clearly needed for collegiate-level foreign language teaching is a major national effort dedicated to introducing major change and upgrading the system. The well-funded national campaign dedicated to the transformation of instruction in mathematics and science must be duplicated in foreign language instruction. When the upgrading of an entire field is involved, collective effort and resources are needed to augment what institutions and individuals can do on their own.

It is a curious fact that almost none of the federal or state funds expended on the improvement of foreign language instruction has been spent at the undergraduate level. There is nowhere to go for the resources needed to upgrade the nongovernmental teaching system. Federal expenditures for foreign language instruction are spent almost entirely on in-house establishments that teach only government employees. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on foreign language training within the government and on the research and development activities to support that training. Most of the funds for the development and utilization of high technology in language teaching are spent within the Department of Defense and the intelligence agencies, and reach the rest of the population only indirectly, if at all. Almost no funds are expended on extragovernmental foreign language instruction. The only federal funds available for the development of language instruction in the colleges and universities are occasional and very small grants under HEA Title VI or through the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. Even the money in the 1984 math and science bill,[28] part of which was earmarked for the development of foreign language instruction, was not spent on the improvement of college-level foreign language instruction. While the universities and colleges were the grantees under what was called the Secretary's Discretionary Fund, the expenditures were to be dedicated to the improvement of instruction at the secondary and primary levels. And virtually all of the recent investment in improvement of foreign language instruction at the state level has also been for elementary and high schools.

It is high time that the nation invested the private and public resources needed to advance foreign language instruction at the collegiate level. It desperately needs changing, and many in and out of the field are ready to lead that change. The foregoing discussion points to some of the high-priority elements on the national agenda.

NOTES

1. Alexander Astin et al., *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1986* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, 1986).

2. Elaine El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1986*, Higher Education Panel Report No. 73 (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1986).

3. Charles J. Anderson, *International Studies for Undergraduates, 1987: Operations and Opinions*, Higher Education Panel Report No. 76 (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1988).

4. See Peter C. Patrikis, "Reports and Reforms: Where Are the Foreign Languages?" *ADFL Bulletin* 20 (September 1988): 14–19.

5. Richard I. Brod, "Foreign Language Enrollments in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1986," *ADFL Bulletin* 19 (January 1988): 39–44, and Patricia Dondonoli, "Report on Foreign Language Enrollment in Public Secondary Schools, Fall 1985," *Foreign Language Annals* 20 (October 1987): 457–70.

6. It would have been instructive, but for the purposes of this survey overly time-consuming, to have tabulated the data by institutional type and language for each

of the states and to have correlated institutional characteristics with the direction and rate of change in particular languages.

7. Included in our site visit sample is Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology which, for the purposes of this report, we have categorized as a "comprehensive" institution. The U.S. Department of Education categorizes it as a "specialized" institution.

8. A bachelor's degree for four-year institutions; an associate's degree for two-year institutions.

9. "CEP Report on Foreign Languages, May 1982" (Swarthmore, PA: Department of Modern Languages, Swarthmore College, 1982, Photocopy), 6.

10. Alexander Astin et al., *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1986* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, 1986), 50; and Alexander Astin et al., *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1985* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, 1985), 46.

11. David Wilkins, *The Educational Value of Foreign Language Learning* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Cooperation, 1987), 31.

12. For one of the many positive statements see Jean A. Perkins, "The Value of Foreign Language Study" (Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, San Francisco, 27–30 December 1987).

13. Thomas S. Barrows et al., *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding* (New Rochelle, NY: Change Magazine Press, 1981), 128.

14. Ibid.

15. Cultural competency was included as an unspecified dimension in early measures of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages' Interagency Language Roundtable language proficiency levels. Cultural awareness is included in the language competencies of entering freshmen as specified by the academic senates of the California Community Colleges, the California State University, and the University of California, respectively. The general issue is discussed at length in Claire J. Kramsch, *New Directions in the Teaching of Language and Culture,* NFLC Occasional Papers (Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center at The Johns Hopkins University, 1989).

16. Alexander Astin et al., *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1983* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, 1983), 43.

17. Ibid., 47.

18. Empirical evidence does not substantiate the proposition that learning about languages in general assists or for that matter hinders the learning of a particular language.

19. See William B. Fetters and Jeffrey A. Owings, *High School and Beyond: Tabulation: Foreign Language Course Taking by 1980 High School Sophomores Who Graduated in 1982* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984).

20. These college-level cohort tabulations will soon be available from the National Center for Education Statistics, although their coding of language-related data is too gross for careful analysis.

21. Fetters and Owings, *High School and Beyond*, table 8.

22. Some insight into this issue may be obtained from Robert M. De Keyser, "From Learning to Acquisition? Foreign Language Development in a U.S. Classroom and During a Semester Abroad" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1986), and A. Ronald

Walton, "CIEE China Consortium Programs Language Curriculum Review Trip, March 10–19, 1987: Report and Recommendations" (New York: Council on International Educational Exchange, 1987, Photocopy).

23. The American Council of Teachers of Russian, in cooperation with the National Foreign Language Center, is analyzing a voluminous body of data on student learner characteristics, their stateside preparation, their experience in programs in Leningrad, and their performance in language learning to address just such issues.

24. Richard D. Lambert, "Language Learning and Language Utilization," *ADFL Bulletin* 13 (September 1981): 8–13.

25. 411,293 for Spanish; 275,328 for French; and 121,022 for German out of a total enrollment of 1,003,234 as reported in Brod, "Foreign Language Enrollments."

26. For recent tabulations of total enrollments in these languages see Brod, "Foreign Language Enrollments," tables 4 and 6. For a list of institutions teaching these languages see Richard D. Lambert et al., *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Washington, DC: Association of American Universities, 1984), appendix D.

27. Of the four-year institutions in the national Higher Education Panel sample who were members of international studies consortia, 44 percent indicated that they use those arrangements to disperse the cost of providing language instruction.

28. The basic legislation providing this support is the Education for Economic Security Act, P.L. 98-377, Title II, sec. 212 (c,d)(1984). Directing these funds to the needs of pre-college language teaching occurred in the rules and regulations for grant applications. See, for instance, *Application for Grants Under the Education for Economic Security Act: Critical Foreign Languages Program,* CFDA no. 84.168F (Washington, DC: Secretary's Discretionary Fund, U.S. Department of Education, 1988).

8

The National Foreign Language System

Much has been written and said about the need for improvements in the instructional and learning process, per se, in foreign language education.* I will not use this occasion to contribute to that discussion. Rather, I bring to the debate about how best to improve our nation's foreign language competency the perspective of a sociologist of language instruction, a concern with the organization of foreign language teaching rather than its technology, with structural issues rather than pedagogical issues. My personal interest is in overall organizational structure, the ways in which the many different activities and organizations in foreign language instruction add up to our de facto national system, and the extent to which that system serves our national need for a large, diverse pool of highly proficient second language users. While not disputing the importance of continuing to address important pedagogical issues, I hope through this paper to call the attention of the foreign language profession to the ways in which structure and organization of the instructional system can either facilitate or impede effective instruction.

In my view, many of the reasons we have not been successful at filling this national need are the result not of poor classroom instruction but of ambiguities and inefficiencies in the *organization* of foreign language instruction that limit the effectiveness of even the most gifted teacher, using the most effective teaching technology, teaching the brightest students. In the course of two national surveys—one of college-level language instruction in 42 institutions and the other of the introduction of Chinese into 60 high schools—we have encountered many, many dedicated and effective language teachers. The problems we have identified arise not so much in individual classrooms, but in the way in which the parts fit together.

In particular, many problems arise from a confusion, or rather a multiplicity, of the goals of language instruction and the relationship between those goals and instruction and, ultimately, actual outcomes. In view of our changing position in the world environment, we need a fresh teleology of language instruction, and a much more sophisticated, a much more particularized, view of how to structure the content and style of language instruction for different purposes and clienteles. Many of the countries of Europe and Asia, with their tradition of centralized planning and control of all aspects of education, are engaged in just such macro-analysis and planning, fitting the various pieces together in a more coherent way. In our dispersed and essentially laissez-faire educational system the need for such a sorting out of goals and instructional programs of language teaching is both more difficult and more essential.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, June 1989).

THE DEMAND FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMPETENCY

The need to sort out and prioritize instructional goals would not be so pressing if we in the United States had the same traditions and implicit motivation for learning foreign languages as do most Europeans. There the formal educational system can operate on the assumption that most educated adults will have frequent occasion to utilize a language other than their mother tongue in some fashion or other. Their presumption that second language skills will, in fact, be used by large sections of the adult population means that there need be no debate about implicit goals for language learning. Moreover, the ubiquity of this presumed need makes the formal education system the logical place to deliver this instruction for all citizens. The only issues are how many other languages should be learned; which ones—increasingly, of course, the primary second language is English; and how long they should be studied.

The American situation is patently different from that in Europe. As a society we are not constantly bombarded by communications in foreign languages as are people in other countries, so that the usefulness of foreign language competencies for very general purposes is not self-evident to the American public. Very few of us routinely read literature, listen to the radio, watch television or go to the movies, or speak with friends in other languages. Hence, the overriding feature of foreign language instruction in the United States is that it operates in a climate of very limited utilization of foreign language skills by adults, in particular very limited occupational demand for the linguistic skills of those Americans who do have language competencies. Overall, we are a devoutly monolingual society, wishing we were linguistically homogeneous internally, and expecting, even demanding, that citizens of other countries speak English when they want to communicate with us.

Part of the problem for American foreign language teachers is that foreigners accede to our wishes. The willingness of elites in the rest of the world to learn English is both a boon and a curse to us. Indeed, without that willingness—and it is not likely to last forever—we would not just be noncompetitive, we would be out of the game. If Japanese were not so difficult a language to learn, English as the lingua franca might be facing a challenge even now.

Given the prevalence of English abroad and the lack of a tradition of normal adult use of foreign languages in the United States, the implicit rationale for the study of foreign languages in the American setting is weak. Lectures delivered at tiresome length by internationalists about how small the world is, and how interdependent our society has become, do not convince anyone but other internationalists about the need for foreign language competencies. Or rather, they are not sufficiently convincing to motivate very many individuals to invest the immense time and effort required to get a truly usable foreign language skill. Relatively few adult Americans will get an opportunity to use a foreign language skill if they do acquire it, and most of them will watch it erode into distant memory as the years go by. In view of this situation, Americans do not share the

Europeans' strong cultural assumption that our formal educational system should be permeated by foreign language instruction.

Nor, in spite of our frequent sermons about the danger to our international competitiveness of our English language blinders, have we convinced very many employers that they should seek out and hire those who have such a competency. We at the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) are in the midst of a major review of the ways in which American corporations deal with foreign language needs when they do arise. As part of that review, Carol Fixman, previously responsible for international education at the American Academy of Collegiate Schools of Business, conducted for us in-depth interviews with 32 international managers and training officers in nine corporations of various sizes and products. Her report, published in the NFLC's Occasional Papers series,[1] explores corporate language needs and usages in some detail. Here are a few words from that report on the American corporate market for foreign language skills:

> In general, businesspeople whom I interviewed tended to view a foreign language as divorced from its cultural context. Most had experienced first-hand difficulties arising from different management styles in various parts of the world. They saw cross-cultural understanding as important for doing business in a global economy. However, few considered knowledge of a foreign language a key element in this understanding. . . . This short-term, mechanical value attributed to foreign languages predominated in the comments of most of my interview partners. Many pointed out that foreign languages did not actually present a problem, since they could be "managed." In other words, when need arose, appropriate skills could be located.

Fixman goes on to detail some variations on this general theme of low evaluation of foreign language skills per se. It varies by country. For instance, all interviewers admitted that Japan was a special case where the need for language skills is strong. In addition, the need varies by the size and function or product of the corporation. Multinationals by and large deal with each other, and in English, while service companies and small and medium-sized companies feel the need for employees with foreign language skills. The need varies according to whether an international company insists on a consistent corporate culture throughout the enterprise, since that usually means the use of English for all internal communications. It varies by the level of employee (in general the need for foreign language skills is greater for the lower-level employees than for managers) and by employee function (those dealing directly with customers or local employees need foreign language skills). But overall, the felt need for foreign language competencies was low.

Another perspective on this matter derives from another survey in which the NFLC is currently engaged. In the face of this low expressed demand, what happens when people who have been highly trained in both business skills and foreign languages seek employment? Do they make their own market? To test this, we are conducting a survey of on-job foreign language use among graduates of three programs that combine a master of business administration (MBA) with advanced language training, the Wharton School's Lauder Institute of International Management, the University of South Carolina's master of international business, and the Monterey Institute's combined MBA and international studies degree. We will soon publish the complete results of this study.* Some preliminary results are available now. At this time, the Wharton School returns are the most complete, and they show that about half of those graduates report that their foreign language skill plays an important role in their job performance. The Lauder program is fairly recent in origin; it has graduated only three classes. The University of South Carolina's master of international business program, which also mixes language and business education, has been in operation for more than fifteen years: initial returns from graduates show a similar pattern. About half of them (52 percent) indicated that their foreign language competency was important in securing their first job after graduation; and 46 percent that it was important in subsequent jobs as well. However, the degree of importance went down, not up: 36 percent reported their language competency as very important in their first job compared with only 21 percent in subsequent jobs. Only 23 percent of all respondents said that a foreign language competency was a factor in promotions, and 7 percent said that it brought them extra pay. If creating a supply of MBAs with training in foreign languages as well as business skills will increase corporate appreciation and demand for language skills, its effect is still to come.

Recently, I ran into another curious example of low evaluation of foreign language skills, this time in a place where one would have expected that the lack of such skills would have been almost totally disabling. A recent report[2] commenting on the sudden explosion in the need for Russian-speaking personnel to carry out effectively on-site inspection under the new U.S.–Soviet Union Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Reduction (INF) treaty contains a long lament that the Russian language needs in the recruitment and training personnel seem to have a low priority in planning. Quoting from the report:

> With the INF Treaty, DOD assumed a radically new mission. However, no effort has been made to adjust service end-strengths and force structures to accommodate this new mission. Service personnel structures focus on functional specialization rather on language capability. In all services, "linguist" is an additional skill identifier rather than a primary specialty. None of the services has a linguist specialty.

THE GOALS OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

It is difficult to ascertain whether this low level of demand for or appreciation of foreign language competencies in the adult world is the cause or the product of the situation in our formal educational system wherein language learning is only very indirectly related to the use to which language skill will be put in later life. To the extent to which the goal of language learning is use oriented at all, the implicit assumption is that if we give students a foreign language competency while they are in school, some of them may use it in their adult lives. Given the relatively low priority and lack of specificity of this goal, it is not surprising that there are very few investigations of the extent to which alumni do, in fact, retain and use their language skills. Nor is much attention given to language maintenance or rejuvenation after the completion of formal education. This is not to say that some teachers do not teach usable skills well or that some students do not acquire them. Nor does it mean that the goal in individual classrooms or programs is not the production of language skills for communication should the need arise. Nor does it mean that parts of the system—for instance the education of language majors or of graduate area specialists, or preparatory courses for study abroad—do not visualize the direct use of a language skill. But the system as a whole is not use directed, with the possible exception of a preparation for an appreciation of literature.

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* See chapter 21 of this volume.

This lack of a direct utilitarian orientation of much of language instruction in the formal educational system means that educational purposes other than actual use of language skills tend to be emphasized. For instance, some view language instruction as a way to deparochialize large parts of our citizenry so that they can develop an empathetic understanding of other cultures and societies.[3] This argument resembles that used for universal science education aimed at producing scientific literacy, not the ability to "do" science. Others look inward and view language instruction as a contribution to the maintenance of an egalitarian, multicultural society. Still others look on foreign language instruction as just another humanity like history or art appreciation whose goals are diffuse and educational in the broadest definition of that term.

When these less utilitarian goals are adopted, either explicitly or implicitly, as they are in much high school and collegiate foreign language instruction, difficult questions arise about how much and what kind of instruction should be given to what kind of student in which languages. Moreover, it is essential that means of maximizing and evaluating the contribution of language learning to these goals be developed.

If, however, the goal is actual use of the language in adult real-life communication, if we as a nation need to produce a larger supply of fully competent second language users who will apply their foreign language skills in the conduct of their professions or in other forms of adult-level utilization, this must become an explicit and high-priority goal of a significant proportion of the language instructional system in the United States. It calls for the creation of effective programs that lie beyond formal education, programs designed to keep school-learned languages alive or to resuscitate or hone them for actual use when they are needed. And equally important, national attention must be paid to enhancing the demand side of the equation, to the enhancement of the actual use of foreign languages in our society, so that more students will share the language teaching community's belief in the utility of foreign language acquisition. Addressing the demand side is, of course, not the exclusive or even primarily the responsibility of the language teaching profession. It calls for attitudinal and behavioral changes in the society as a whole.

DIRECT USE-ORIENTED LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

While foreign language instruction in the formal educational system is usually only distantly related to a specific use of language skills, there are two important parts of our national language instructional system that do train for direct language utilization. As I will note, they are very loosely connected, if at all, to language instruction in the formal educational system. The two use-oriented systems are: first, a set of language instructional institutions within the federal government serving primarily the needs of federal employees; second, the proprietary vendors of language instruction who serve primarily the needs of business and individual adult learners. We know something of the first of these. The NFLC is just beginning to map out the second.

The Federal Government System

It should be noted that not all governmental language instruction is use oriented.[4] The goals of foreign language instruction in the service academies resembles those on civilian college campuses. While they do tend to have more resources than their civilian counterparts, particularly in the availability of high-tech equipment to assist language learning, their indirect relationship to later use of language competencies is similar to the situation in the general education system.

The best known of the government language schools are, however, very use oriented. The federal-government-operated foreign language school that serves the broadest range of government agencies is the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), which produces about 1,300 graduates annually. While most of its students are Department of State employees heading for overseas assignments, it also provides language training for other government agencies. For instance, it trains about 200 Department of Defense (DOD) students annually, mainly those who will serve as military attachés in U.S. embassies. The principal language trainer for the Department of Defense is the Defense Language Institute (DLI). It produces 4,500 graduates annually, about 70 percent of whom will serve as listeners in signals intelligence. Since its establishment 45 years ago, it has graduated about 150,000 students. In addition, language training schools are maintained by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Language Training Division and the Language and Target Studies Department of the National Cryptological School (NCS). The latter adds supplemental language training, largely in listening skills, to graduates of DLI. The number of students trained in the CIA and NSA schools is classified, but is considerably smaller than those enrolled in FSI and DLI. The federal government also maintains a number of advanced language teaching schools overseas. FSI operates schools in Japan, Taiwan and North Africa. The U.S. Army maintains a Russian Institute, which provides two years of training beyond what is provided by DLI to about 20 students per year, and a Foreign Language Training Center in Europe, which provides six-week refresher/enhancement courses in Russian, Czech, German, and Polish to about 550 students annually.

The advantages of the government-based system are well known.[5] Its orientation toward actual use of the language removes all debate about the purpose of language learning. There are still debates about the degree of specialization of language training to be given to those preparing to go into different jobs. For instance, should very general language competencies in all four skills—reading, listening, speaking, and writing—be taught, or should training be limited to the skills that are most likely to be used? Since 70 percent of the graduates of DLI and almost all of the NCS trainees will be used as listeners in electronic surveillance, the natural tendency is to stress receptive rather than productive skills. Should an attempt be made to teach sublanguages rather than general language skills? The vocabulary at DLI tends to be heavily tilted to military usage. FSI, on the other hand, tends to emphasize oral production skills, and a much wider range of vocabulary and registers. A further difficulty, particularly in the Department of Defense, is the necessity to admit students whose language learning aptitude is considered less than optimal, and to operate what has been described as a revolving door training system. Given the brevity of enlistment times, DLI must constantly train fresh personnel just to keep force strengths even. Moreover, few trainees remain in the service long enough to develop very high levels of language competency.

However, federal language teaching systems have real advantages. Compared with their counterparts in the formal educational system, government language schools can assume motivation on the part of the students, although not all enlisted men—about 80 percent of the students—and officers in DLI have equal enthusiasm. Outside of FSI where a substantial proportion of the students are trying to learn a language at the same time they are making other preparations for a foreign assignment, students in government schools can focus almost exclusively on language learning. The only academic programs that I know of that have this luxury are the summer programs at centers like Middlebury, or the Title VI centers, academic-year-long Falcon programs in intensive Japanese, Chinese, and Indonesian at Cornell, and study abroad programs in a variety of locations overseas. On the campus, intensive usually means about five to ten hours of language instruction per week;[6] in the most use-oriented government programs it is full time.

Proprietary Vendors

We know almost nothing about a very substantial section of the national language teaching system, the world of proprietary vendors. They vary in size from international giants such as Berlitz, which has 85 branches in the United States and another 150 scattered throughout the world, to the swarm of individual tutors selling their services by the hour. These proprietary language schools and tutors are abundant enough that one of our interviewees in a major corporation indicated that his mail is constantly inundated with flyers of language vendors. In a typical week he received at least fifteen telephone calls offering services. There are thirty language schools listed in the Washington, D.C., Yellow Pages alone, and countless more around the country. In the main, these schools concentrate on the teaching of the European languages, although many indicate that they will teach anything—that is, anything for which they can find a native speaker to fill the classroom. The government uses them primarily for the more exotic languages for which agencies do not want to maintain teaching facilities themselves. Some vendors have a special patented methodological wrinkle or some dramatic learning aid from violins to brain wave stimulators. The airline magazines are full of their advertisements. The excesses of some of the outrageous claims one finds in the ads of the less responsible vendors unfortunately obscure the fact that this vast network provides a vital service in the use-oriented sector of our national system. Its growth is an almost pure measure of national demand for foreign language competency, much more accurate than school and college language enrollments where coercion plays such an important role. It is a pity that we know so little about it. The NFLC has just begun to develop an inventory and taxonomy of such vendors.

In general, the proprietary vendor system has its own personnel and style of operation, and points toward utilitarian goals in its instruction. It has almost nothing to do with the formal educational system, although there are several highly publicized stories of commercial vendors having local school systems as clients. Sometimes academics moonlight as instructors in proprietary schools, and very occasionally a school or a college will set up a vendor of its own. Except for these limited overlays, however, there is a sharp division between the proprietary system of language instruction and the formal educational sector. For most colleges and universities, the chasm is deep and unbridgeable. If a faculty member wants to denigrate a use-oriented style of language instruction being offered on the campus, he or she need only refer to it as "like Berlitz." And the belief that proprietary schools provide very low quality language instruction is very deeply held. However, the proprietary sector serves foreign language training needs that the formal educational system cannot or will not. It provides training on demand in time frames, in locales, and for purposes that fit the needs of use-oriented clients better than the campus-based, semester- or quarter-long units to which the procrustean bed of academic language instruction is fitted. One of the regular clients of proprietary vendors is DOD. It spends $2 million annually on proprietary vendors, mainly in the Washington area, who teach 500 DOD students. Other agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation use vendors almost exclusively for their foreign language training. Even FSI uses vendors to cover languages for which there is no in-house teaching capacity. To a limited extent, instruction in the least commonly taught languages is also provided to government employees by university-based language and area studies programs acting as proprietary vendors, although unless government agencies want their employees trained as area specialists, they generally prefer the proprietaries. As a general rule, most agencies that need on-site training for overseas employees use in-country private vendors for that purpose.

The primary clients of the proprietary vendors are neither government nor the formal educational sector. They are the unaffiliated individual learners, ranging from tourists to professionals needing language skills in their work. However, it is corporate contracts that make many proprietaries profitable. The extent to which the corporate world uses commercial vendors for language training is one of the least understood aspects of our national foreign language training system. One thing is clear, however: if we are talking about corporate language training for international competitiveness, it is the proprietaries that are now providing this service. From the NFLC's interviews with corporate executives who manage the preparation of employees for overseas assignments it is clear that they are almost totally uninformed about language instruction in the government sector, and they very rarely, if at all, call on the formal educational system to serve their language training needs. This is so even with respect to the less commonly taught languages where our university-based language and area studies programs have teaching resources unrivaled anywhere in the world. Some corporations—relatively few—set up language training shops within the company. Others tend to turn to vendors, not the formal educational system. Language skill is viewed by business executives as a commodity to be bought and sold like any other commodity, not an experiential skill like managerial ability to be built up carefully over a long period of time. As such, one turns to vendors, not educators, to supply it.

MANAGING THE NATIONAL SYSTEM

Let me turn now to a few suggestions as to how we might better manage the national system, a few glaring inadequacies that putting the whole system together reveals.

Problems of Lateral Discontinuities

If we think of the three different sets of language teaching enterprise as parts of our national language teaching system, the most striking feature is discontinuity. There is what might be called lateral discontinuity among the three segments—the formal educational system, the governmental language teaching centers, and the private vendors. They are not only autonomous but almost totally separate. They have remarkably little to do with each other. This is not surprising in that they have different functions and different clients. However, if we are to develop a national strategy for expanding and improving our national foreign language system, at some point, attention must be paid to the promotion of better linkages among them. This is particularly true of links with the formal educational system. If we look at it in terms of a national strategy for use-oriented, rather than cultural-awareness-oriented language learning, then the formal educational system should provide a basic level of skill in one or more foreign language that adults can later draw on for occupational or personal use. Curiously, we have no evidence as to whether it does or does not play that role. Anecdotal evidence suggests that it does not. The fact that corporations go almost entirely to private vendors for foreign language instruction for their employees speaks for itself. In large part, the government has given up on the formal educational system as a supplier of use-oriented language competencies. A very typical government assessment is contained in the following quotation from the memorandum dealing with the needs of the On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA):

> American school systems do not lay an effective foundation for advanced foreign language study either in government schools or in colleges and universities. In particular, language instruction in the civil sector is not proficiency-oriented. As a result: (1) without extensive re-orientation, colleges and universities are poorly equipped to deal with proficiency requirements such as dictated by compliance inspections. (2) government language schools must begin language instruction at the beginning.[7]

There is, of course, somewhat less than full acceptance on the part of the academic community of such judgments of the greater effectiveness of government language training programs, and a deeply felt resistance to bend their system to serve government, particularly military needs. Nonetheless, at a minimum, this quotation indicates that there is a genuine need for a reversal of what has become a persistent pattern of mutual withdrawal at the interface between the two systems, government and academic.

Vertical Discontinuities

Much of the government's rejection of academic language instruction is a judgment about the low level of competency which graduates of such training are deemed to have. Quoting the OSIA report again, it notes:

> Data acquired in 1988 by the Educational Testing Service during calibration of its Russian Proficiency Test indicates that 4th and 5th year college students majoring in Russian have a median listening proficiency of Level 1+ and a median reading proficiency of Level 2.[8]

While I do not want to get into a debate about the legitimacy of this scale, anyone listening to taped samples of individuals performing at this level will agree that this is a fairly low level of performance. The 1+ level in listening comprehension is supposed to signify the ability to understand short conversations about survival needs and limited social demands. A level 2 reading comprehension should indicate someone who can read simple authentic material within a familiar context. It is true that graduate language majors and area specialists, particularly those who enroll in one of the overseas advanced language training centers, can get to a considerably higher level, sometimes to a level 3 or a little more—fairly complete comprehension in normal discourse and reading. The basic point, however, is that these performances come from individuals in the formal academic system who have a special need to master a language and an expectation of using it.

This is anything but characteristic of most language learners in the formal system. For most students, sticking with language instruction long enough to acquire a substantial amount of skill is the exception rather than the rule. A recent national cohort analysis of high school students found that out of all students enrolled in first-year French, German, or Spanish, only about 60 percent of them went on to the second level, and only 21 percent of the remainder went on to the third level.[9] On college campuses, we recently conducted an analysis of the transcripts of 8,692 students graduating in 1986 from a national sample of 32 colleges and universities. It showed that only about half the students enrolled in four-year institutions took any college-level language instruction at all, and of these about 40 percent took only the first year's work, a third took the equivalent of two years, and only about 15 percent took upper-level courses. In the more occupationally oriented two-year colleges, 73 percent took no language training at all, and of those who did, only 2 percent took an upper-level course.[10]

The rapid attrition rate in student enrollments across grades within each school level is compounded by major discontinuities between high school and college language instruction. It is usually left to the student to fit together the language training he or she has had at the various levels, and often they face in different directions. And when college-level language teachers encounter prior high school training in a student, the tendency is not to build on it but to excuse the student from the necessity of taking further work in that language.

This situation of rapid attrition and discontinuities across the system is well known to foreign language teachers, and is a source of immense frustration. Reaching a usable level of language competency requires, above all, time and cumulative effort, and the current system does not provide it. Students—and for that matter parents—often hold unrealistic expectations for miracles in too short a time period. Teachers also know that the second year of language learning is characteristically less exciting for students. The quick progress made in the early stages settles down to the near drudgery of efforts in slowly reaching the next plateau. And since our system is almost entirely demand driven, holding student volunteers to the task of language learning calls for extraordinary motivational skill on the part of the teacher. It is small wonder that some teachers battle for a language requirement. They find this, of course, a two-edged sword. The trade-off for commandeering substantial amounts of students' time—although the usual two-year requirement is not very much time—is to get classes in which there is a high proportion of foot-dragging students. In our national sample survey of 400 institutions of higher learning[11] 68 percent of our universities and 40 percent of baccalaureate colleges have a language requirement for graduation for some students. Even these minimal requirements normally reach only a fraction of the total student body. Many fewer, only 9 percent and 22 percent of universities and colleges respectively, have a foreign language requirement for all students. Relatively few community colleges (13 percent) have a foreign language requirement, and none of these applies to all of their students. The message is clear. Given the predominance of low-level learners enrolled in foreign language instruction, the non-use-oriented goals of language learning need special attention. On the other hand, if the formal educational system is to provide the reservoir for use-oriented foreign language instruction, then more attention must be paid to providing a larger number of students with a clearly demarcated track through and beyond the current system, one that will make their language learning more continuous across the breaks in the system—between high school and college, for instance, or between domestic and overseas language study. There is little evidence that high school-learned language skills are interlinked comfortably with collegiate language learning. Nor is language learning during study abroad well integrated with domestic training. The data from the American Council on Education national survey of colleges and universities indicated that typically the level of language courses taken before study abroad was very low, and that in very few institutions was any provision made for students returning from abroad to use their increased language skills. And overall, there is little evidence that any combination of levels provides them enough language competency to provide a good base on which later use-oriented instruction can build.

The confinement of language instruction to lower skill levels is not just characteristic of our formal educational system. It is characteristic of the system as a whole. Within the federal government, DLI routinely trains students to a 1+ level, although CIA and NSA are reputed to go much higher. An in-house report by Monteagle Sterns[12] on language training for the foreign service lamented the low levels of language competency of our diplomats compared with those from other countries. A similar indictment appeared in Senator Paul Simon's questioning of FSI officials in the September 21, 1988, hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The proprietary vendors are of little help. With few exceptions, all of their training is focused on the first stages of language learning, what is referred to as the survival stage. And both the corporations and the government tend to depend upon native speakers, rather than school-learned language skills, for genuinely high levels of language competency.

The national language system, therefore, needs not only lateral integration among the subsystems, but articulation across levels and within levels within each subsystem, and a determination to bring a larger number of students to a higher level of proficiency.

Shifting Our Western European Bias

If we are to prepare our citizenry realistically for the next century and not the last, we must diversify our language offerings. In general, our formal educational system is fixated on French, German, or Spanish, where 90 percent of our enrollments lie. We do have an extensive governmentally nurtured set of university-based programs that teach some 90 languages of the world, but they are primarily oriented to teaching advanced language and area specialists. We clearly need to extend instruction in the non-European languages more broadly throughout the educational system. The only non-Western languages for which this has begun to happen are Russian, Japanese, and Chinese. Russian, for instance, has a somewhat greater spread, with collegiate-level enrollments of 32,365 in 1986 and high school enrollments of 6,405 in 1985. Recently, there has been something of a surge in enrollments, but nobody knows what the increase has amounted to. The language with the highest rate of enrollment increase is Japanese, where enrollments have tripled within the past five years, but if one omits enrollments at the University of Hawaii and Brigham Young University, the total enrollments in Japanese are still very small. Below the collegiate level, there are about 300 high schools currently teaching Japanese and 177 teaching Chinese, and experimental programs for Japanese instruction have begun to appear in the elementary schools.

The government language schools tend to have a somewhat wider spread of languages, although their sometimes narrow definition of use-oriented gives various agencies a somewhat peculiar profile of languages they teach. For instance, the Department of Defense language training school tends to focus on recent or projected military adversaries and thus underemphasizes countries like Japan and most of Africa. Others are bound by legal restrictions requiring the clear demonstration of agency use before training can be taken.

What the situation is among the proprietary vendors is anybody's guess. The general impression is that some of the private vendors teach the non–Western European languages, but European languages still make up the bulk of their trade, and in the non-Western languages their services are usually quite limited in scope and normally operate at a very low level of skill.

Surely one of the major needs of the entire system is an improvement in our capacity to teach more of the major languages of the world to more of our citizens. It tends to be limited at the present time to the use-oriented sector of our language instructional system. It clearly needs a greater representation in the formal educational system if we are to prepare our citizenry realistically for the next century and not the last.

There are a number of systemic changes that need to be put into place to make this possible. Here, I can only give a few illustrative suggestions.

1. Most of the less commonly taught languages do not have the rich store of texts, dictionaries, grammars, authentic materials, etc., that are available for instructional use in the European languages. Filling the gap is now a cottage industry carried on separately

in dozens of languages by dozens of individual scholars in their spare time. Or materials are prepared in the government or proprietary schools and never emerge for use in the formal educational system. A coordinated materials production and curricular development system is needed that facilitates individual effort and provides for common sharing of technologies and resources.

2. The practical problem in providing instruction in most of the less commonly taught languages is that teaching resources are now and are likely to remain concentrated in a few sites, while the limited demand for instruction is dispersed and intermittent. This means that heavy emphasis should be put on the development of individualized-instruction and teaching-at-a-distance strategies, on centralized training facilities open to all, and on carrying language learning to the workplace instead of insisting that individuals leave their jobs to come to a school to study a language.

3. The essential component for a national plan must be the training of teachers. The dysfunctional, uncoordinated scurrying to find teachers of Japanese, for instance, to meet the exploding demand for instruction will saddle us with a low-quality Japanese teaching system for years to come. Now is the time to upgrade and reinforce the quality of the current instructional system and to train top-quality teachers for our expanding needs.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I have tried to sketch in some of the broad structural features of our national foreign language teaching system, avoiding any discussion of the nature of pedagogical practice or the relative merits of one or the other element in the national system. In characterizing the national system, I have emphasized one particular goal, the preparation of Americans for real-life use of a foreign language. While, particularly in the formal educational system, there are other goals of language education, such as general intellectual broadening, deparochialization, or gaining a deeper appreciation of one's own language, the current debates about national policy stress more instrumental ends such as improving our economic competitiveness or making our citizens more able to deal with others around the world. These debates direct our attention to a different goal: language education for utilization in adult life. I have pointed out that, with a few exceptions, the formal educational system currently serves this goal only indirectly. Were it to do so more directly, more attention would have to be paid to:

1. identifying a wider variety of uses, both on and off the campus, toward which language education would point;
2. the articulation of language learning experiences for students across educational and course levels so that it becomes more cumulative for individual learners;
3. the attainment of a higher level of skill by those students with the capacity to learn and the greatest likelihood of future use of a foreign language skill;
4. the introduction of greater flexibility in the timing, availability, and mode of instruction;
5. the provision of opportunities for language skill maintenance for students after they graduate; and

6. an expansion in the formal system's capacity to provide language instruction for adults when a real need for the use of a foreign language skill arises.

At present, instruction directed toward a concrete expectation of use of a foreign language skill takes place primarily in two other segments of the national system largely unconnected with our schools and colleges—the government language training schools and a host of proprietary vendors of language instruction. The former tend to serve the limited clientele of federal government employees. Nothing now serves the needs of state or local government employees. The foreign language training needs of business employees are occasionally handled by programs managed by corporations themselves. More frequently, they are contracted out to private schools and tutors, or individual employees use commercially available texts and tapes. The foreign language needs of other adults, whether for occupational use or for private purposes, are served by the same network of proprietary language training vendors.

If we as a nation are to move forward toward a more foreign-language-competent society, systematic national planning and development have to occur in all three systems. Common standards have to be set, strategies for matching individual needs to appropriate training facilities have to be established, and the subsystems must be coordinated and articulated so that individuals can move among them with relative ease and with some expectation that the skills acquired in any mix of language learning environments will be both cumulative and useful. And two things are needed above all. Direct national attention must be paid to raising the occupational demand for and utilization of foreign language skills in the society as a whole, and the level of language skills taught and acquired in all segments of the system needs to be radically raised.

NOTES

1. Carol Fixman, *The Foreign Language Needs of U.S.-Based Corporations* (Washington, D.C.: The National Foreign Language Center, May 1989).

2. Peter W. Kozumplik, "Memorandum on Language Requirement Study for On-Site Inspection Agency, 20 December 1988" (Washington, D.C.: Defense Language Institute, ATFL-NCR, December 20, 1988).

3. David Wilkins, who reviewed this issue for the Council of Europe, concluded that the evidence for this function of language learning is very slim. See David Wilkins, "The Educational Value of Foreign Language Learning," CC-GP12 (87) 10 (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1987).

4. A brief summary of this system, with particular emphasis on the Department of Defense, is contained in Kozumplik's report to the On-Site Inspection Agency, already cited; and William Bader et al., *Defense Intelligence: Foreign Area/Language Needs and Academe* (Washington, D.C.: SRI International, 1983).

5. For a somewhat self-congratulatory comparison of government, mainly DLI, and academic language instruction, see Ray Clifford, "Language Teaching in the Federal Government, A Personal Perspective," in Richard D. Lambert, ed., *Foreign Language Instruction, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 490 (March 1987).

6. Frank C. Abbot, "Intensive Language Programs in the West, Report of a Survey" (Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1988, mimeo).

7. Kozumplik, Enclosure 2.

8. Kozumplik, Enclosure 2.

9. William B. Fetters and Jeffrey A. Owings, *High School and Beyond: Foreign Language Course Taking by 1980 High School Sophomores Who Graduated in 1982*, LSB 84-4-16 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, April 1984).

10. Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989).

11. See Charles Anderson, *International Studies for Undergraduates, 1987: Operations and Opinions*, Higher Education Panel Report 76 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, September 1988).

12. Monteagle Sterns, *Report on Hard Language Proficiency in the Foreign Service: Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Russian* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State,1986).

9

The Case for a National Foreign Language Center: An Editorial

Nothing is more damaging to the American capacity to cope in a global society than the abysmally low level of foreign language competency of most Americans.* Most of us are devoutly monolingual. This is not for want of investing money and time in trying to get American school children to learn a foreign language. Our annual investment in teaching foreign language in our schools is more than two billion dollars. Millions of students study French, Spanish, or German for at least two years, and often four or six years of their high school and college education. And the numbers of students enrolled in foreign language classes, after a period of decline, has begun to rise again. Many colleges and universities are reinstituting a foreign language requirement for admission or graduation, and several of our largest states are proposing to require foreign language instruction for all high school students.

The trouble is that while in our educational system we invest an immense amount of student and teacher time and huge amounts of money in foreign language teaching, survey after survey documents how inadequate our current foreign language capacity is: 1) the skills it imparts are too low and too scholastic; 2) the languages taught were appropriate for the nineteenth century but not for the twenty-first; 3) the ways of measuring skill acquisition are outmoded; 4) the levels of instruction are totally unarticulated so that the cumulative aspect of skill acquisition by a student is unattended and accidental; and 5) no one knows or seems concerned about how much of early foreign language training survives to be available for adult use.

We mean this as no criticism of the many hard-working teachers and students now involved in foreign language education. Various aspects of the system as a whole present the problem: 1) too limited time given to language acquisition; 2) too many students dragging their feet in learning a skill whose utility to them is, at best, unclear; 3) the low level of foreign language competency of too many teachers; 4) the compartmentalization of instruction by semesters and between primary, secondary, and tertiary schools; 5) the lack of a way to measure well just how much competency a student really has acquired; and 6) overall, the dependence on the teacher in the classroom as the sole method of learning. Thus, while we welcome growing foreign language course enrollments and requirements as a recognition of the importance of foreign language competency, putting more and more students through, and pouring more and more resources into, the current foreign language teaching system will not solve the national problem.

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* Reprinted from *The Modern Language Journal* 71 (Spring 1987): 1–11.

What is clearly needed is not just a tinkering with this or that specific aspect of language instruction as it is now carried out, but an examination of the system as a whole—in and out of government—a measurement of its performance against the needs of the society of the future. The need is increasingly widely recognized. From the Congress, the Department of Defense, the heads of major American corporations, our governors, commission after commission making proposals for the reformation of American education, we hear calls for a citizenry better prepared in foreign languages, for international affairs specialists—including foreign service officers and leaders of our internationally oriented business concerns—who have a high level of competency in another language, for language teachers more conversant with the pedagogical techniques and technologies of their trade, for area specialists able to conduct advanced research in the target language. The various proposals for the expansion of American international competencies in general and for the creation of a centralized funding structure to further that goal must have an important foreign language component. As the foreign language resource centers take shape under the newly revised HEA Title VI, and as the creation of a National Foundation for International Studies seems increasingly likely to become a reality, it is essential that a well-thought-out plan for making our foreign language teaching system better serve those needs be made a conspicuous part of those proposals, and that the necessary marshalling of the field to address those needs be undertaken. This is an open moment when we may be able to address our national needs in foreign language instruction in a fresh way.

Three aspects of foreign language teaching in the United States make it difficult to change. First, it is only loosely tied to the goal of creating an adult population with significant and durable foreign language competencies, and attends hardly at all to the creation of a pool of American professionals with a truly advanced level of skill. Yet it is just the focus on adults, the emphasis on advanced levels of competence, and the need to maintain skills learned in school that are at the root of the emerging concern with our national capacity to deal in the new international environment.

Second, the management of the system is characterized by extreme disaggregation. In each school system and each school district, control of the various stages of the process is totally dispersed, and there are few and very weak systems for centralized management. Moreover, the different segments of the national education system are totally fragmented; there is no mechanism for sharing experience. Teachers of uncommonly taught languages have few conversations with those teaching French, German, or Spanish, and those teaching English as a second language talk to neither. Our vast, and in many cases more sophisticated, governmental language teaching institutions—e.g., the Defense Language Institute or the Foreign Service Institute—have no way of relating to what goes on on our campuses. And no one relates to the proprietaries, which tend to monopolize the teaching of adults outside of the government.

The third problem is the surprisingly weak tradition of empiricism in the search for what works and what does not work. In place of solidly grounded practice, we have wildly exaggerated claims for one or another way to teach a foreign language. In place of theory linked firmly to applied study, we have staunchly asserted opinions on how students learn. In place of carefully formulated relationships among practice, theory, research, and curriculum and materials development, we have teachers, theorists, researchers, and pedagogues each going their separate way. And none of them is relating to the social scientists where some of the expertise which needs to be brought to bear on the problem resides.

A NATIONAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE CENTER

The time has come to face head on the difficulties mentioned above—the non-instrumental orientation of much of our foreign language teaching system, the highly fragmented and dispersed teaching establishment, and the currently non-cumulative, non-empirical orientation of the field—and to develop a coherent national strategy for improving the quality of our foreign language teaching both in and out of our formal educational system. To this end we call for the creation of a National Foreign Language Center whose task would be to create, evaluate, and work for the adoption of satisfactory techniques of language instruction capable of carrying a wide variety of learners to a high enough level of competency to permit genuine use.

This is a task that many national organizations and many, many individuals have been addressing. Indeed, this is a period of major national ferment within the foreign language instructional community. The task proposed for the Center is one shared by the field as a whole, and is obviously too large for any single organization to undertake on its own. The plurality of institutions and individuals concerned with the improvement of foreign language teaching is one of our great national strengths. The National Center should work not to displace the ongoing efforts already taking place, but to assist and where necessary supplement such activities. What a new national organization can provide is some central space where scattered efforts can be coordinated, made cumulative, and brought to bear on a common agenda. In this central space the efforts of the language community can be interwoven with those of professionals in other academic fields, and with the needs of the eventual users—corporate, government, individual—who will employ those with foreign language skills.

A striking example of the need for a central space is the lack of a national level institution where members of the foreign language community and those in related fields can come together for substantial periods of time to conduct research. While language professionals now assemble for a day or two at the meetings of national membership organizations or at various ad hoc meetings organized around specific research projects or themes, there is now no place in the United States where those interested in foreign language instruction per se can work for substantial periods of time on their own research alongside others with similar interests. Research on foreign language instruction tends not to be included among the academic specialties served by existing national centers for advanced research: 1) the Palo Alto Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences; 2) the National Humanities Institute; or 3) the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. Given the immense fragmentation in the foreign language field and the low levels of interaction with scholars in other disciplines and professions, the need for an Advanced Institute for Research on Foreign Language Instruction is especially striking. A proposal to create such a foreign language "think tank" as part of the National Center is presented later in this proposal when the organization and functioning of the Center is treated in greater detail.

Special contribution of the national Center. While the Center will play a role in assisting and helping to coordinate activities taking place elsewhere, it will also serve to identify and address important unmet needs. Indeed, one of its principal functions will be to identify just such needs and to carry out the necessary research and development efforts either at the site of the Center or commissioned through the Center to take place elsewhere. What does the Center hope to contribute that will make a special contribution to the national agenda? In addition to its role as a coordinating and agenda setting organization, and as the site of an advanced institute for research on foreign language learning, its special contribution resides in its guiding principles and in the selection of research and development tasks that have a high priority from a national perspective, have high leverage on the overall language teaching system, and are relatively unattended elsewhere.

Center-sponsored activities will have three guiding principles:

— they should be "applied," that is, they should be directly related to the improvement of the foreign language competency of Americans, particularly adult Americans, and to lifting a more substantial number of them to a genuinely high level of skill;
— they should reflect an empirical orientation, constantly measuring practice against outcomes;
— they should bridge the various segments of the language teaching community and link them to social scientists and those in public policy and administration whose participation is essential to the upgrading of our national pool of foreign language competencies.

The initial tasks which the Center will undertake will be:

— to develop a comprehensive national policy on foreign language teaching;
— to determine research priorities tied to national objectives which would guide public and private funding sources, as well as the Center's own research;
— to foster the development of innovative instructional methodologies aimed at increasing the effectiveness of teachers and language learners in both the public and private sectors;
— to initiate a limited number of key high leverage projects to inform the policy process and serve as prototypes for more general developments in the field.

The Center will engage in research, materials development, training, diffusion, articulation, and evaluation. It will serve the needs of teachers and learners at the various educational levels and users of language skills in business, government, education, research, and public affairs. The inclusion of this range of audiences insures a rich and encompassing research agenda which, in turn, will lead to a patterned understanding and improvement of teaching and learning foreign language skills.

Only part of this ambitious national effort will be carried out on the site of the Center itself. Much of the work will be carried out by participating centers on the campuses of other institutions, by national membership organizations, and by individuals who have the substantive expertise to contribute to the tasks. Indeed, the activities sponsored by the Center will regularly represent a flexible mixture of those carried out at headquarters and those conducted elsewhere, all of them dedicated to the same core national agenda. A number of institutions have already agreed to participate in such an arrangement. Moreover, the National Center will play a supporting, enabling, and coordinating role for centers located on other campuses so that the national effort may be integrated and cumulative.

FIRST PROJECTS

To make a start on the national agenda for upgrading foreign language competencies in the United States, several substantive projects can fruitfully be initiated. They have been developed in consultation with leading specialists on foreign language instruction in two conferences held under the joint auspices of the Ford Foundation and the Exxon Education Foundation. The first, held at the Ford Foundation in August 1985, reached general agreement on topical areas to be covered. The second, held in Aspen, Colorado, in June 1986, was based on a series of working papers dealing with various aspects of foreign language instruction.

Out of the many specific projects proposed at those conferences, a few have been chosen as the initial focus of the Center's activities because of their pivotal position in an overall national strategy; pivotal, first, because they deal with questions that must be answered before a broader assault may be launched on the full range of issues in foreign language instruction; second, because the conduct of research and experimentation on these topics will itself dramatize the nature of the fresh agenda that we all must attend to. Moreover, individuals and institutions are ready to undertake them almost immediately so that reportable progress can come fairly early.

Consistent with its first priority, the Center will develop a comprehensive national policy on foreign languages. As a first step, a high-level task force will be constituted to marshall opinion, experiment with various idealized designs, gather comparative information on other systems, and examine the cost effectiveness of a variety of alternative arrangements. Special attention will be paid to ways to increase and supplement the effectiveness of classroom teachers, and to non-teacher-centered learning systems. In addition, a thorough review will be made of the potential uses of new instructional technologies and their impact on the structure of the language teaching and learning process. The task force will identify major gaps in existing knowledge which if filled would have a major impact on the improvement in the current system, and make suggestions on how such knowledge might be acquired. Finally, it will examine existing mechanisms and make recommendations as to the best ways to diffuse information and new technologies.

The task force's recommendations will guide the long-term agenda both of the nation and of the Center. In the meantime, certain already identified key points of leverage will be pursued. These fall into four major domains.

Development of innovative learning environments. As indicated in the statement of guiding principles, an overriding purpose of the Center is to assist in the ongoing effort to improve the practice of foreign language teaching and learning. As further indicated above, there is an immense amount of effort already dedicated to the improvement of foreign language instruction by many organizations and individuals, and it is not the purpose of the Center to supplant that activity. To the extent that such efforts fit into the national agenda and meet the criteria for projects that have national rather than local impact and a general rather than a narrow focus, the Center should be a source of support for such efforts or assist in finding support elsewhere.

However, five domains exist within the overall effort to which the Center should give high priority in expending its own resources. First, the Center considers the teacher and classroom time as truly scarce resources in language learning whose usefulness must be maximized and combined in the most effective way possible with other instructional methodology. It should help develop: 1) prototypical teaching and learning systems which would integrate classroom and informal learning; 2) prepared text and authentic source materials, overseas and domestic instruction; 3) intensive and non-intensive study; 4) oral-aural and visual materials; and 5) teacher-delivered classroom instruction and machine-oriented individual learning strategies. So far these separate elements tend to operate with minimal reference to each other, and with little thought to when and for what kinds of learning each is appropriate.

Another function of the Center is to work at the margin to improve the current system for the production of widely available foreign language teaching materials. Currently the preparation of teaching materials is widely dispersed among individual authors and textbook publishers, and is often keyed to the size of the market. Such a system would, naturally, leave unattended the less commonly taught languages, higher level skill materials, and other essentials on the national agenda that market criteria do not serve well. One of the tasks of the Center would be to develop prototype formats and materials providing a rationalized, integrated system combining different elements of language instruction for different kinds of learners and learning situations. Special emphasis will be given to languages and learners that would otherwise not be covered. As a start, the Center proposes to try to develop such a system in Chinese and, perhaps, Japanese as well.

A third major domain of the Center's interests would be in experimenting with substantial numbers of individual learners with tasks broken down into discrete problem-solving learning segments in interaction with high-technology learning support systems of the kind currently being used to assist instruction in many non-language-oriented learning situations. A start has already been made with respect to the teaching of foreign language reading. One by-product of such work will be an examination of the optimal role of classroom learning, that is, are there some aspects of classroom learning, particularly learning of vocabulary and standard patterns, that are best left to machine drilling, and are there others in which interaction with teachers and classmates is essential.

Fourth, the Center would explore the use of expert systems in language learning, both as replacements or supplements for some activities now performed by teachers and, more importantly, as "consultants," which teachers could use with such tasks as test construction and curriculum design. This system will be computer-based, interactive, on-call by the student or teacher, and tuned to the computer accumulated record of a student's most successful problem solving and learning strategies. The goal is not to present a full-fledged syllabus or set of teaching materials which will be given to every student and through which all students in a class will march together, but to provide a support system which will be on call for either the teacher or the student to work with particular language-learning tasks. The development of a prototypical expert system for foreign language instruction is already underway but its full operation will require an extensive period of interaction between system designers and foreign language teachers and learners.

Finally, as work in the first four domains progresses, it will no doubt be necessary to establish a limited number of experimental classrooms and other research settings to evaluate the effectiveness of the new procedures and materials. The Center can play an important role in ensuring that such research fits the guiding principles of cumulative, empirical research. How many and how extensive such experiments will be will depend upon the availability of students and teachers and upon the relative costs of this as compared with other types of information gathering on teaching and learning styles. Such classrooms will serve as demonstration settings for testing new and old teaching systems and materials and will provide training for teachers as part of the dissemination activities of the Center. They should be constituted so as to permit controlled comparisons among a variety of teaching methods, student types, and levels of learning. Sites and individuals will be selected so that there is both overlap and variation in language level and teaching style. Initially, two languages should be chosen for comparison, one commonly-taught and one less-commonly-taught. In addition, classes should be set at beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels. At each level and in each language maximally contrasting teaching styles will be introduced, making sure that there are at least two sites sharing each style, level, and language.

Systems for comparison, observation, and evaluation. Experiments in innovative learning systems are almost useless unless they are tied to carefully developed measures for comparison, observation, and evaluation of those experiments. Moreover, if one of the primary goals of the Center is to encourage the development of a greater empirical tradition in foreign language education, it must attend very early to the construction of valid and widely accepted measurements of the outcomes of different teaching and learning strategies.

The Center must address two related but somewhat different challenges. The first is the development of objective, efficient measures of the overall level of the language competency of individuals. Such a measure is needed both for the certification of individuals' competency in a readily understandable and universally applicable metric, and to measure the outcomes of methods and programs of language instruction and learning. The common metric for language skills should encompass as many of the major world languages as possible and cover all four skill areas: speaking, writing, listening, reading. Some good starts on this task exist in the work of the Interagency Language Roundtable, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, the Center for Applied Linguistics, and the Educational Testing Service, particularly with respect to the measurement of general proficiency in an oral interview. As this testing strategy, developed largely for learners and language users in a government setting, extends into other educational domains, problems of articulation and adaptation have necessarily arisen. For instance, as the number of those rated and those doing the rating increases, it will probably be necessary to develop paper and pencil objective proficiency tests, alongside the existing oral interview techniques. It will be necessary to standardize the tests, not just the testers, as is the current practice. Moreover, the expansion of the effort into academic instruction in the non-Western languages, particularly those with complex orthographies, will require the development of satisfactory measures for reading and production skills. The development of a common metric has been well begun; it is essential that further steps be undertaken in a flexible and adaptive spirit with an eye on problems of mass administration so that the metric can be made truly universal.

A second major challenge emanates from the creation of a set of experimental classrooms mentioned above but has much broader implications. To make the results of dispersed experiments at all useful, a careful system for comparing classroom settings and teaching style, of controlled, systematic observation, and of evaluation of student achievement will have to be developed. Before the experimental classrooms can be effectively launched and their results analyzed, a major effort will have to be made both to assure comparability and to measure their relative effectiveness. This will require the development of analytical taxonomies, sets of classifying variables, that will enable us to distinguish among different teaching technologies and classroom settings, and teaching materials. What are the principal dimensions along which they vary? If we are to observe classroom organization and behavior systematically, in a comparable way across languages, levels, and institutional settings, what are the common features on which data should be collected? What combinations of proficiency, achievement, and diagnostic tests are available or must be developed to measure outcomes at various levels of instruction? This combination of dimensions of technology, classroom setting, teaching materials, and outcome measures will provide the beginning of the evaluation strategy toward which the experimentation is leading.

In short, a major task of measurement development must be done prior to the establishment of the experimental learning situations. In particular, the existing battery of test instruments will have to be considerably supplemented to enable us to measure accurately the finer gradations in skill changes that this strategy calls for. And the technology of classroom analysis, which has been developed for educational purposes other than language teaching, will have to be adapted and expanded to apply to these classroom situations. The task of measurement will have to involve close collaboration between those who develop the prototypes and social scientists skilled in experimental design. Accordingly, a place for these various skills to be gathered, whether it be at the National Center or in one of the other sites, is essential to the success of the process. It will, however, largely be the responsibility of a central team or resource base that will have the expertise to design the classificatory and evaluative categories. It will be that team that, on behalf of the collective enterprise, will manage the observational and evaluative processes and carry out the comparative analysis of the results.

Upper skill level language training. Another crucial leverage point in the transformation of American language instruction is the development of a teaching technology and set of materials to raise individuals' language skill level from beginning and intermediate levels to near native fluency. Such technology and materials do not now exist. A recent internal State Department report is quite eloquent on the cost to the United States of the low level of language competency among our Foreign Service officers, the contrast in that situation between the United States and the diplomatic corps of other countries, and of our current incapacity to remedy that situation.

The National Center's early concentration on the development of upper level skills in foreign languages is both to dramatize the generally low level of foreign language skills we in the United States normally settle for, and to help establish training programs for occupational groups such as foreign service officers or translators where high level skills are needed. As a start on this process, the experience of the advanced overseas language training centers and the Department of State and military language training stations abroad need to be canvassed, as does that of European training institutes. Subsequently, several languages should be chosen and contracts awarded for the preparation of teaching strategies aimed at taking a student from level 2 + to a level three or four in the ILR scale. Indeed, one of the early hallmarks of the Center should be leadership in research and development leading to upper skill level instruction in a wide variety of languages.

Adult language competencies. It is essential that from the outset the focus of attention of the national agenda for foreign language instruction be fixed firmly on adult competencies. It will not suffice to concern ourselves solely with the current language training process in our schools and with the young students enrolled therein. The final payoff must be foreign language proficiency among an important sector of the adult population.

Accordingly, we propose two initial projects under this rubric. First, one or more studies of desirable and actual foreign language use should be undertaken. These can be surveys of cross-sections of the adult population, using the samples and survey data collection skills of one of the professional polling organizations. Or they can be targeted on particular professional or other occupational groups such as international business managers, foreign service personnel, history teachers, social science faculty. There are prototypes for the review of foreign language needs and competencies in the general adult population in surveys recently conducted in The Netherlands, and for the occupation-specific survey in a study recently carried out by DLI and ARI to establish language competency specifications for military personnel. To inform American public policy, measures will have to be developed that distinguish between effective demand for the employment of foreign language competence and an idealized national need which indicates what utilization might be if the national interest is to be fully served. Such adult language needs surveys can be either farmed out on RFPs or carried out from a central research base. In either case, crucial prior planning must specify the forms of measurement and the sets of skills, usages, and requirements to be contained in the surveys.

A second priority is a review of existing facilities for teaching foreign languages to adults together with recommendations for better serving this national need. Once again, the European countries have much to teach us in this regard. Many of them have substantial teaching systems for providing foreign language instruction to adults on demand. We, like they, will quickly run into the problem of protecting the public from larcenous for-profit ventures promising to teach difficult languages overnight to anyone. In the United States they are attractive in part because there are so few alternatives and no way of measuring and certifying the performance of the individual learner or the program. Some experimentation with the provision of such services through continuing education programs at various levels of our own educational system should be monitored for possible prototypes, as should be the major proprietary systems and intra-corporation—or for that matter FSI—experience in that regard.

The third major concern in dealing with adult foreign language competencies is the loss or retention of language skills once acquired. It is absurd that we put all of our effort into providing so many people a little language skill when they are of school age, but do nothing to inhibit the loss of those skills as the students become adults. Within the past several years, a major study has been underway to try to discover what people forget of their language skills over time and what they remember. Because of the nature of the funding, the principal focus of that study so far has been on the less commonly taught languages, in particular Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic, and on either students enrolled in one of the academic overseas language training centers or of the Defense Language Institute. That project has been able to create the careful measuring instruments needed to calibrate changes in language skills over time. For that purpose a fresh set of diagnostic tests tailored to the measurement of the loss of particular linguistic features and skills has been completed. The project has also developed the fresh statistical analytical strategies for measuring individual change over time; current analytic methods are not adequate for that purpose. However, it is time that the focus of research on language skill attrition shifted to the more commonly taught languages where the incidence and problems of language skill loss are more widespread and, from the national perspective, more pressing. Fortunately, within the next year, under the aegis of the EEC, linguists in five European countries will be undertaking a comparative study of skill loss in the French language among samples of adults who have studied that language in school. Discussions are underway to have the National Center conduct a US-based study integrated with those taking place in Europe.

DIFFUSION AND ARTICULATION

These four domains of activity will characterize the initial research and development activities of the Center. In addition, the Center will become actively involved at an early stage in enhancing communication among the various sub-groups and levels within the field of foreign language instruction, in providing opportunities for professionals at all levels of the system to share their insights and perspectives, in the dissemination widely through the system of what is known about improvements in teaching and learning strategies, and in the training of teachers of foreign languages and the "teachers of teachers."

As indicated earlier, the design of an effective system of communication is a major item on the agenda of the national foreign language strategy task force. Even before those recommendations are available, however, some activities of organizations already in place should be encouraged such as those sponsored by ACTFL, MLA, and the language specific associations that promote collegial consultation and planning, and are currently turning their attention to teacher training. The Academic Alliances network helps the articulation of foreign language instruction between the secondary and tertiary levels, and the diffusion of improved teaching technologies. More recently, the Alliances have managed a program for overseas language skill reinforcement among secondary school teachers, and if the proposed agenda for the National Foundation for International Studies is adopted, substantially more resources will be invested in that effort. The Center for Applied Linguistics maintains a large data base listing research publications in the field of applied linguistics. As was noted earlier, the proposed Center should work not to displace ongoing efforts but to assist and where necessary to supplement such activities. Supplementation can include such activities as the acquisition, processing, and timely distribution of authentic source materials in foreign languages, or taking steps to assure that the ERIC system adequately covers and serves the needs of the foreign language instructional community.

These other efforts notwithstanding, however, it will be fruitless for the Center to carry out its own activities without taking great care that they are linked into—and their results diffused throughout—the field. As work develops on the Center's own agenda, it will need to establish a dissemination strategy of its own. For example, while successful teacher training programs are in operation elsewhere, the Center should from the outset conduct some teacher training itself. In addition, teachers undergoing training as second language specialists can serve as interns in the experimental classrooms of the Center under the joint supervision of Center staff and their own degree supervisors at their home institutions. Moreover, established professionals actively engaged in foreign language teaching will be included among the visiting fellows who will be brought to the Center on a regular basis. And finally, representatives of the language teaching professionals will be assured participation in the governing and advisory structure of the Center.

A core function of the Center will be to establish close linkages between developments in foreign language pedagogy in the United States and abroad, particularly in Europe. To that end, it is proposed that a representative of one of the centers concerned with the management of foreign language instruction in Europe be appointed to the advisory body of the Center. Further, the Center plans to serve as an affiliation base for visiting foreign scholars and students specializing in research on foreign language instruction.

In similar fashion, given the Center's avowed purpose of serving the needs of organizations, agencies, and corporations who use the products of language instruction, it is essential that liaison relationships with these "user" groups be established early and their concerns built directly into the governance structure of the Center.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNANCE OF THE CENTER

Site. The Center will be separately incorporated as the National Foreign Language Center. It will be established on the campus of Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. The arrangements worked out with Johns Hopkins provide the maximum advantage of a presence on a major research university campus and sufficient autonomy to serve a national rather than a primarily local agenda. These include full autonomy in staffing and budget; retention of all interest and overhead accruing to the Center; university charges limited to rent, a six percent management fee, and direct costs which the Center creates, and no charge for funds dispersed to other locations. Staff appointments will be incorporated into the academic structure of the school. SAIS is allocating to the Center an entire floor in a newly acquired building at 16th and Massachusetts Avenue to house the Center, a building in which all of the language-related activities of the School and the Edwin Reischauer Center of Japanese Studies will be located. This allocation will provide enough space for the staff of the

Center plus accommodations for visiting fellows. The prime location in Washington will enable the Center to integrate its activities with Washington-based language activities such as those at the Foreign Service Institute, the Center for Applied Linguistics, the Linguistic Society of America, Georgetown University, and the Joint National Committee on Languages. It will also place the Center at the focal point of discussion concerning the creation of the proposed National Foundation for International Studies so that it may play a strong role in setting the foreign language agenda of that organization.

Requests for proposals. It is assumed that a substantial portion of the activities directed to the national agenda will take place not at the Center itself but on other campuses where the requisite skills and interests are located. Funds available through the Center will be dispersed to these other sites through an invitational competition along the lines of the RFP strategy often followed by government agencies. Where one institution is the only possible applicant, sole source contracts can be negotiated. The allocation of funds to other participating centers and individuals will take place on an RFP basis through a special committee that will both manage peer review of proposals and will choose among competing proposals. Criteria allocating priorities of projects will include: 1) relevance to the stated agenda of the Center; 2) potential for direct effect on the language teaching system; 3) generalizability to other languages and learning situations; 4) incorporating the best of current methodology; 5) bridging the social sciences and the language profession and various segments of language specialists; 6) allowing for multiple site implementation.

The committee members will include scholars of high personal standing in the field of foreign language instruction and knowledgeable about various sub-fields and in the social sciences as they relate to foreign language instruction and the formation of public and academic policy. The committee will as a matter of course submit proposals received under RFPs to rigorous peer review by external evaluators.

Functioning of the Center. The first academic year of the operation of the Center, a period before the more permanent quarters will be available for occupancy (May 1987), will be spent in the organization of the Center, the building of the governance structure, negotiating the specifics of its fit into the Johns Hopkins environment, recruiting staff, working out the relationships with participating language research centers at other universities, constituting and setting in motion the task forces that will do the concrete planning for each of the agenda items outlined above, writing grant proposals for project funding for substantial, long-term funding for particular aspects of that agenda that are too large for the Center's own funding to fully support, and shaping and issuing RFPs for work to be done elsewhere.

During this start-up year, the Center staff will comprise Richard Lambert, who will serve as the initial Director. His responsibility will be to relate the Center's activities to other aspects of national language policy, to assure that the basic agenda of the Center is met, and to integrate the dispersed activities with those taking place at the Center itself. In addition, there will be a senior staff person with experience in the foreign language field, and one or more administrators employed to assist him in arranging and staffing task force meetings, and coordinating visits to, negotiations with, and the solicitation and processing of RFPs for the participating centers and individuals on other campuses. A professional staff will include individuals both resident at the Center and others involved on a continuing basis in the Center's activities. They will bring to the Center's activities expertise in the various technical aspects of foreign language instruction and the relevant social sciences as well as a mix of languages. Many of them will be brought to the Center initially on a visiting basis. As the Center develops, it is anticipated that more people will be added to the staff for work on particular projects. Such specially-focused people, whose main financial support will come from entailed external funds, will be employed for the duration of a project.

A foreign language think tank. In addition to the core staff, if sufficient funds are available the Center proposes to host five or six visiting language professionals and social scientists on a rotating basis. Visitors will be selected for their distinction in their field and will carry out their own research or writing on a topic related to foreign language teaching. However, while visitors will work on their own research projects, they will also supplement the core staff to create a critical mass at the Center, and by their presence will guarantee fresh interdisciplinary and interspecialty collaboration on issues relevant to the national agenda. Preference will be given to those whose interests lie in one or another of the items on the national agenda, and they will be expected to help the Center flesh out its own agenda and to formulate RFPs for the work to be done elsewhere. Indeed, some of the visiting specialists will be drawn from those who already are or who propose to be engaged in one of the Center-related projects, providing a natural way to strengthen the links between the in-house and the dispersed development and research activities.

As a matter of policy, an attempt would be made to draw at least one fellow per year from among active language teachers at the secondary school level. It should also be added that teachers and active researchers in government foreign language teaching enterprises would be welcome candidates for grants. And, in addition to senior scholars and teachers, again if funds are available, fellowships would be offered to pre- and immediate post-doctoral students, to attempt to reach the successor generation at the onset of their careers. In addition, foreign visitors will be invited to assure continued association with language research work abroad.

ADMINISTRATION

The primary policy-making body of the Center will be an Advisory Council of approximately twelve individuals who will comprise a mixture of foreign language professionals, influentials in the formation of public policy with respect to foreign languages, and representatives of important corporations and other organizations whose employees utilize foreign language skills in their work. Until the Center is actually established and funded it is, of course, premature to invite members to join the Council, although a few individuals have been contacted informally. The intention is to create a core Council of perhaps seven people at the outset, then allow those members to agree on further additions.

10

Problem Areas in the Study of Language Attrition

INTRODUCTION

In a paper written several years ago for the conference in Philadelphia on language skill attrition (Lambert 1982), the elementary distinction was made between predictor and criterion variables.* The research agenda was set as the specification of sets of predictor variables, that is those elements that influence the amount and pattern of skill loss, and of criterion variables, that is the language performance features that are lost, plus the creation of a fresh analytic design both for measuring change over time in individuals' or cohorts' language skills and for linking the criterion variables to that change. We want to use that simple statement of our agenda to illustrate some of the problems which we—and presumably others too—have encountered as we have tried to conduct systematic studies of the phenomenon of language-skill attrition. To illustrate what the nature of the problems is, we will draw upon a few of the major American studies, in particular the large study a number of us have been working on for almost four years, the Language Skills Attrition Project (see, for example, Lambert & Moore 1984).

SPECIFYING THE CRITERION VARIABLE

The criterion variable, the measurement of skill loss, is in many respects the most interesting. In talking about language skill loss, there is inevitably an underlying assumption of what language skills are. In particular, there is a dichotomy between those who believe that implicitly language skills comprise a kind of seamless web, that competency (or perhaps skill-specific competencies such as speaking, reading, listening and writing) fall along a single dimension from lowest to highest. Individual linguistic features are merely samples of a person's general ability level, and the measurement problem consists of how to read the underlying, latent, ability level from the sample items to which a testee responds. This logic is sometimes explicit as in the case of our own study[1] in which we, in conjunction with overseas advanced language training centers in Cairo, New Delhi, Taipei and Tokyo, constructed a series of tests for Arabic, Chinese, Hindi and Japanese measuring graduated levels of general competency, that is scales of proficiency in the performance of real life tasks. These newly-constructed tests measure reading and listening comprehension among the passive skills and oral production among the active skills. In part because of the different orthographies of the languages we are working with, we have not yet tackled writing skills. To arrive at graduated levels we used an elaborate system of Rasch and other models for item analysis to arrive at the level of difficulty of the individual items, but the important thing to note is our underlying presumption that skills are unidimensional and hierarchically arranged and that one can add the number of correct responses on a set of language processing tasks to get a fair measure of how competent an individual is on a particular skill as a whole. It follows that skill loss over time can be reckoned by the difference between the sum of correct responses on the tests at the first point of measurement and the sum at a later time on the same test or one that is intercalibrated with the first. In such an analysis, no attention is paid to which particular items a learner can perform correctly at either point in time—just the number. This is the same premise as to the criterion variable that is used in a major survey being carried out by our Department of Defense on the loss of competency among military personnel after their initial intensive training at the Defense Language Institute at Monterey, California (cf. Kahn & Lett 1985). They will use changes in the subjects' scores on a criterion referenced test used throughout the Department. Their principal interest is in demonstrating the amount of aggregate loss in overall language competency that takes place over various periods of time.

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* Written jointly with Sarah Jane Moore. Reprinted from *Language Attrition in Progress*, ed. Bert Weltens, Kees de Bot, and Theo van Els (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications, 1986), pp. 177–86.

Sometimes this implicit logic is not quite so apparent. In Bahrick's (1984) study of what he calls 50 years of loss of school-learned Spanish in a sample of American adults—by which he means how much Spanish is recalled among adults who have been out of school for up to 50 years—the number of items correct, allowing for partial credit, on tests of reading comprehension, recall and recognition, vocabulary and grammar was treated as a fair measure of general skill level. The proxy for measuring competency at the earlier level was even more generalized. It comprised the respondent's recollection of his grade given to him at the end of the course. We will make no comment on the adequacy of his measurement of overall skill at the two points of time, although the use of remembered course grades as a measure of overall competency at the point of school leaving seems especially troublesome. The basic point is that he is assuming a unidimensional underlying skill continuum, and that loss takes place by sliding down this continuum.

The alternative basic assumption about the criterion variable is that skills are what the economists would call "lumpy," that is that a language competency is composed of the mastery of discrete features that may be intercorrelated, but have some degree of independence. With respect to language loss in particular, it assumes that a subject loses some features and retains others, and the principal purpose is to discover which ones. There is, of course, a third set of questions relating to the unidimensional vs. multi-dimensional dichotomy we are making that none of us has yet faced. That is, no matter whether the pattern of loss is linguistic-feature specific or a general loss of skill, should a rejuvenation program provide remedial work aimed at specific forgotten features of the language or attempt to raise the subject's general competency level, as presumably first time learning does? Do you just try to establish someone's overall level of competency and then go back to the standard teaching materials normally used to advance students from that level, or do you target your instruction on the particular linguistic features that have been lost? The identification of patterned loss by no means settles that question.

Once one decides to go after patterned loss, the question then becomes how does one partition linguistic competency into units that are likely to reflect most effectively what will be lost. This decision can either come as an *ex-post-facto* coding system for analyzing free discourse as is done in the sixteen-language study of the impact of brain damage on linguistic skills (Menn & Obler 1982). Or it can be established *a priori* and targeted items can be created to measure specific features, as we are doing in our own attrition study. In either case, linguistic skills must be partitioned into categories that reflect patterns of differential loss. It is our own view that the specification of these linguistic features is an essential next step in language attrition studies, one on which European and American colleagues need to work collaboratively. It will, of course, be an iterative process; the first round of studies will give some rough ideas on differential loss, and hopefully create more refined categories for future studies.

As a contribution to this process, let us use as an example two studies, the Cross Language Aphasia Study of Lisa Menn and Loraine Obler (Menn & Obler 1982) and our own survey jointly sponsored by the Center for Applied Linguistics and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The aphasia study, while it does deal with two production parameters—that is phrase length and speaking rate—essentially focuses on grammatical features using as its coding categories the following features: errors of omission in grammatical morphemes (including both function words and bound inflectional/derivational morphemes in obligatory contexts); errors of commission (e.g. substituting feminine singular genitive for masculine singular dative; the inappropriate use of unmarked forms such as the use of the infinitive for a finite verb, or the use of nominative singular structures for nouns, adjectives and articles); the accuracy and complexity of clause structures in which nouns and pronouns are syntactically related to verbs (these latter used for both syntactic and semantic analysis—for example, whether the agent, the beneficiary, the location, the instrument of a clause are correct); and stylistic abnormalities (such as the excessive use of acceptable structures such as the use of indirect discourse or the historical present when the past tense would normally be used; pronoun use problems; use of verb, tense and aspect; adjective and pronoun agreement; the ratio of lexical nouns to lexical verbs; and the use of speech crutches such as in English the phrase "you know").

What we want to draw attention to is not the specific features being examined, but the fundamental logic that it is the normal grammatical features that are the proper units of analysis of differential loss. We also want to call attention to the fact that these categories may work reasonably well in the Romance and Germanic languages. It will be quite interesting to see how well these linguistic categories apply to Hindi, Thai, Zulu, Finnish, Sotho and Japanese which they also include in their study. It should also be pointed out that aphasia studies generally deal with the loss of first languages and the pattern of second language skill loss may be somewhat different.

In our own study, which currently deals with second language learners of Chinese, Hindi and Japanese, we have taken a somewhat different approach to the specification of linguistic domains where we expect attrition to occur. First, as indicated earlier, we developed new measures of general proficiency both overall and in particular skills. Second, we tried to think of what general principle might guide predictions of loss or retention of particular features of a language. A careful analysis of the literature produced a number of hypotheses about the nature of language skill loss that directed us to examine particular features of the language as most likely to be lost. They can be characterized as follows:

— *recency:* approximately when a linguistic feature is introduced in textbooks;
— *frequency of reinforcement:* both pedagogical frequency, i.e. the amount of attention given to a linguistic feature once it is introduced, and real life frequency, i.e. the frequency with which a student might be expected to encounter a linguistic feature when using the language in the area in which it is spoken;
— *complexity:* running from simple to compound, embedded structures;
— *contrast:* the degree of (dis)similarity between the second language and one's own;
— *linguistic distinctiveness:* how subject a feature is to paraphrase or alternative expression, as against there being only one way to express it;
— *functional load:* how essential an item is to understanding the meaning of a particular utterance, as against adornments that can be clipped off without a loss of meaning;
— *irregularity:* whether a feature is an exception to a general rule, as opposed to one that follows a more general set of principles;
— *centrality:* whether it is a "core" feature of the language or a "peripheral" one;
— *pragmatic load:* whether a feature provides extra-linguistic information, such as sarcasm, disbelief, and politeness.

Taking these hypothesized domains of greater or lesser language attrition, we tried to find specific examples in syntax, morphology, lexicon, and phonology within reading, speaking and listening skills that were high or low on one hypothesized domain at a time. As can be imagined, when the hypothetical domains of loss are crossed with linguistic categories such as syntax, morphology, lexicon and phonology, and in three of the separate skills, reading, listening and speaking, the number of distinct items we have to create, and hence the length of the test, becomes enormous. However, our work was reduced somewhat by two constraints introduced by our attempt to fill in these complex grids. First, as we tried to operationalize some of these hypothetical domains in a fashion that would be both precise and applicable across languages, some of these concepts became too slippery for real usefulness. For instance, it was difficult to distinguish between centrality and frequency of use in real life situations, contrastive analysis became very language specific, and differences in both functional load and frequency of use became almost impossible to decide once one allowed for a shift in registers. Accordingly, for all practical purposes, we are concentrating on frequency (both in real life use and in teaching materials), recency, complexity, and contrast.

The second constraint grew out of our desire to hedge our bet on what the particular features of loss would be. Accordingly, we decided to be sure to include in the test those items that experienced teachers of each language knew that American students learning the language frequently had difficulty mastering and regularly made mistakes in. The underlying hypothesis is that items that are difficult to master will also be the first to be lost. Hence, we made sure that our list of items covered as many of these features as possible. We then went back and coded each item on each of the linguistic domain features—recency, frequency, contrast, complexity—so that we could be sure that we had a test of our basic hypotheses as well as a diagnostic test useful more generally for teachers trying to locate a student's learning problems.

A final constraint arose from the need to pinpoint specific features of a language or language skill in a diagnostic, discrete point format. That is, it was necessary to pinpoint as precisely as possible a respondent's mastery of a particular feature, rather than aggregating item responses of a particular subject into an overall measure of an underlying global skill level, as proficiency testing and classical item analysis typically do. In diagnostic testing, test validity and reliability are feature specific, although the test should also allow for rough determination of a subject's general level of competency for placement purposes. Accordingly, while we still concentrated on the respondent's comprehension of the meaning of an item or his ability to produce it, we tried to discover the respondent's mastery of the particular feature we were measuring. Indeed, we repeated our measurement of several features in different formats and in different skill modalities to attempt to minimize errors derived from context and item format.

With these specifications, we designed diagnostic tests in Arabic, Chinese and Japanese which were parallel in format but which focused on particular aspects of those languages. The selection of items reflected the need to include features that represented different combinations of intensity on each of the general characteristics we are hypothesizing relate to attrition. For instance, we tried to create items that represented a high degree of irregularity and a low level of complexity or contrast. Second, we tried to be sure that the range of items included in the tests covered the core features of a language as judged by their inclusion in most teaching materials or in frequency counts of lexicon or structure, and the experience of teachers as to what learners had the greatest difficulty in acquiring. Thus, while the particular features included varied from one language to another, the criteria for selection and overall format were similar in the tests of all three languages.

Listening, speaking, and reading were tested, in that order, by means of two test booklets (Listening/Speaking; Reading), with the Listening/Speaking booklet coordinated with a master test tape which gave spoken directions and test stimuli for these two portions and automatically timed the pauses for student response.

The first sub-section in the listening part tested *aural comprehension* of spoken lexical items in the context of short utterances. The testing technique of this section involved spoken delivery of the entire utterance, followed by a single repetition of the "tested" element. The response procedure was to write "an acceptable English equivalent" of the repeated material. The subject was told to "convey as accurately as possible the meaning of the material, but not to worry unnecessarily about niceties of polished translation." For each lexical item, 10–15 seconds were allotted for response, depending on the length of the response. Aural comprehension of the meaning of spoken structures was tested using the same format, with the lexicon in these items kept as simple as possible so as to pose no comprehension problem *per se*. Ten listening structure items were included, each with 15–20 seconds allotted for response. The final sub-section within listening comprehension asked the student to listen to a short utterance in the target language spoken with a particular intonation, followed by a spoken question in English about the affective force or meaning conveyed by that particular choice of intonation (for example, "What does the speaker think about food?"). The student response was to write a short explanatory phrase in English ("He doesn't like it," etc.).

The second major section tested *speaking ability* in a variety of ways. The first two sub-sections, analogous to listening comprehension, dealt with the subject's ability to produce orally appropriate lexical items and specified structures in the target language. In both cases, the stimulus materials consisted of short printed English sentences, with certain portions (in some instances, the entire sentence) underlined. The subject's task was to "read the . . . English sentence silently to yourself and then say aloud an acceptable equivalent in the target language." The third speaking sub-section asked the student to listen to short utterances spoken in the target language with "neutral" intonation and to repeat these utterances aloud with an intonation conveying a particular meaning or affect (e.g. "Without changing the words or their sequence, say the following in a way to express surprise"). The fourth sub-section asked the subject, in a limited amount of time, to think of and say aloud as many target language words as possible within a specified category (classroom objects, articles of clothing, feelings or states of mind). The final speaking sub-section presented a number of "mini-situations," each involving a particular communicative function to be accomplished in the context of a specified combination of situation and interlocutor (e.g. "Apologize to your instructor for being late to class," "Point out to the shopkeeper that you have received too little change," "Advise another couple dining in the same restaurant not to order a particular dish").

A separate booklet was used for *reading comprehension*. The first two sub-sections within reading asked the student to look at short printed target language sentences and to write, on the line provided immediately below the sentence, an acceptable English equivalent. The third and final section of the reading test presented close-type items with reasonably lengthy printed contexts, together with a list of possible insertions.

In the analysis of the test results, each item for each subject is coded into categories of right, partially right, and wrong. An examination of the actual responses falling in the final two categories gives us an opportunity to further classify the items into additional categories, some of which will cut across all of the languages we are dealing with and some of which will be specific to a particular language. In this way we hope to provide useful diagnostic tests for individual languages as well as test some pan-language hypotheses as to the pattern of language attrition.

This is where we are in the specification of the criterion variable. Ginsberg's contribution (1986) provides an insight into some of the measurement and research design issues we are facing in our analysis of the data. We are at the stage of completing the test instruments to measure the criterion variable on several sets of subjects at the end of their training in three languages, and plan to retest this cohort after the lapse of substantial periods of time.

SPECIFYING THE PREDICTOR VARIABLES

The next problem to be tackled is the specification of the predictor variables, that is the characteristics of the individual and the situation that influence both a degree of overall loss or the differential loss of particular linguistic features. Hypotheses about these fall into several categories. First, there are the objective personal variables that distinguish different individuals. These most commonly include age, sex, education, general language learning and foreign sojourn experience (see, for example, Moore 1981 and McDonnell et al. 1983). The aphasia studies, of course, emphasize the size, nature and location of brain damage, and the Menn and Obler study includes a longish questionnaire on the relative dominance of the right or the left hand.

The second commonly used set of predictor variables are attitudinal. Robert Gardner has probably done the greatest amount of work in this domain (cf. Gardner et al. 1983 and Gardner et al. 1985, and also, for example, Clark & Jorden 1984). The principal attitudinal feature is a measure of what is called the integrative vs. the instrumental approach to language learning, that is the extent to which the subject views language learning as an end in itself or as a tool to some other goal. We found in our first study that since the subjects we were dealing with were students who had chosen a career specializing on a particular foreign country, and since they had survived two years of intensive work in Chinese, Japanese and Hindi as well as a rigorous competitive examination to gain access to higher skill level training, the motivational span was quite small and the items that normally fall in an integration-instrumental scale were not particularly relevant. More recently, we had a chance to administer a long questionnaire to a large number of military personnel engaged in intensive instruction in a variety of languages. Accordingly, we put into that questionnaire almost every known attitudinal scale: integration, educational objectives, general interest in foreign languages, anxiety toward learning the language, motivational intensity, and a set of semantic differential items measuring the student's attitude to the classroom experience, the teacher and the people who spoke the language. We are at present trying to reduce the immense amount of redundancy in these different attitudinal measures and to arrive at a few key measures which we will use in all of our studies. Our first step is to see whether the individual scales actually work with our population. Second, we are examining the correlation among scale scores. Third, we are seeking to determine how many and what underlying factors lie behind the large assortment of items.

The third set of predictor variables has to do with differences in subject learning styles and classroom contexts. At the moment Rebecca Oxford has developed an extensive questionnaire incorporating a large number of variables distinguishing different features of learning and teaching styles (Oxford 1986). We intend in the very near future to subject it to the same kind of reduction and selection process we are using on the attitudinal scales.

Finally, there are a set of variables that some might consider as intervening variables rather than as part of the predictor variables, that is patterns of interim use of the language. For the first language oriented aphasic studies, this is not a particular problem. For second language oriented studies the first variable, of course, is lapsed time (cf. Weltens & Van Els, 1986). Most of the studies you will find in the literature either deal with a relatively brief period of time—a summer, or six months—or treat cross-sectional samples as if they represented lapses of real time. For instance Bahrick's 50 years of memory of Spanish refers to some people in his cross-sectional sample that studied Spanish 50 years ago. By comparing those who have been out of school for a greater or lesser period of time an attempt is made to vary the time lapse. The validity of such a process is, at best, debatable (cf. Jaspaert et al., 1986). It is our hope that we can attack this issue by repeated measures of a single cohort, but longitudinal studies take both time and resources, and are very difficult to manage.

Beyond the question of lapse of time, in most studies of language attrition the measures of interim use normally comprise responses to a set of questions on media exposure and other forms of informal use, occupational use, and travel. Our own study will not get into this in detail until we get to the follow-up stage.

NOTE

1. Other researchers working on the project are John L. D. Clark (formerly Center for Applied Linguistics, currently Defense Language Institute), Ralph B. Ginsberg (University of Pennsylvania), Eleanor H. Jorden (Cornell University), Ernest N. McCarus (University of Michigan), A. Ronald Walton (University of Maryland), and Lynn Thompson (Center for Applied Linguistics).

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11

Foreign Language Competency

There is nothing more damaging to the American capacity to cope in a global society than the abysmally low level of foreign language competency of most Americans.* Most of us are devoutly monolingual. This is not for want of investing money and time in trying to get American school children to learn a foreign language. Our annual investment in teaching foreign language in our schools is more than $2 billion. Millions of students study French, Spanish, or German for at least two years, and often for four or six years, of their high school and college education. And the number of students enrolled in foreign language classes, after a period of decline, has begun to rise again. Many colleges and universities are reinstituting a foreign language requirement for admission or graduation, and several of our largest states are proposing to require foreign language instruction for all high school students.

The trouble is that while we invest an immense amount of student and teacher time and huge amounts of money in foreign language teaching, survey after survey documents how inadequate our current foreign language capacity is: the skills it imparts are too low and too scholastic; the languages taught were appropriate for the nineteenth century but not for the twenty-first; the ways of measuring skill acquisition are outmoded; the levels of instruction are totally unarticulated, so that the cumulative aspect of skill acquisition by a student is unattended and accidental; and no one knows or seems concerned about how much of early foreign language training survives to be available for adult use.

This is not to criticize the many hard-working teachers and students now involved in foreign language education. It is various aspects of the system as a whole that present the problem: too limited time given to language acquisition; too many students dragging their feet in learning a skill whose utility to them is, at best, unclear; the low average level of foreign language competency of too many teachers; the compartmentalization of instruction by semesters and between primary, secondary, and tertiary schools; the lack of a way to measure well just how much competency a student really has acquired. Thus, while we welcome the growing foreign language course enrollments and requirements as a recognition of the importance of foreign language competency, putting more and more students through, and pouring more and more resources into, the current foreign language teaching system will not solve the national problem.

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* Reprinted from *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986), ch. 2.

A NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Hence, before we plunge into an expansion of a system that now gives millions of students a little foreign language training and relatively few a genuinely usable competency, a major shift in emphasis, organization, and teaching technology is needed. Otherwise, we will look back after another decade of spending increasing amounts of student time and scarce national resources on teaching foreign languages, and we will find ourselves just where we are now: all but a few of us able to communicate only in English in a polyglot world. We need a freshly thought-through national foreign language agenda and a redirection of national will and resources to improve the system.

A National Foundation for International Studies, or for that matter the federal government as a whole, can play only a marginal role in that process. The administration of foreign language teaching policy is the responsibility of the state or the local school district, and almost all of the billions of dollars spent in the United States on foreign language instruction appears on state budgets. There is, nevertheless, an important collective responsibility at the national level that can assist in making the marginal investment and providing the necessary intellectual catalyst that a major shift in national policy demands. The high degree of dispersion of foreign language instruction throughout our thousands of school districts makes it unlikely that such a transformation will well up spontaneously from the thousands of classrooms. There are some things, such as setting national standards, that must be done centrally or they will not be done at all. Thus there must be a national as well as a state effort to strengthen our foreign language teaching and learning system.

An attempt to create a coordinated national agenda comes at a propitious time; there are many, many separate initiatives afoot to work at pieces of that agenda. For instance, 32 of the major national language education associations have grouped together into a Joint National Committee for Languages to develop and work for a national agenda. The major private foundations have begun to invest in a transformation of the language teaching system. The Exxon Education Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Pew Memorial Trust are funding a National Foreign Language Resource Center to help create a national agenda and to try to make progress on pivotal items on that agenda. With the support of a number of private and public funders, plus monies contributed by school systems throughout the country, a system of academic alliances has been created to bring together language teachers and administrators from high schools, colleges and universities throughout the country to help improve foreign language instruction. The Rockefeller Foundation has provided $1.5 million in fellowship support to send high school teachers of foreign languages abroad to upgrade their own language competencies.

Meanwhile, the federal government has been funding work on the improvement of language teaching capacity in the less commonly taught languages through Title VI of the Higher Education Act (HEA), and in the reauthorized (1986) version of that act, Congress has authorized the creation of two to five centers to improve language pedagogy. The National Institute of Education included improvement of foreign language instruction in its recent grants to establish major centers for research on bilingual education. The National Security Agency has funded development efforts in foreign language pedagogy, particularly in the use of high technology in language teaching. The

Department of Defense is considering how it may help in the development of our national capacity for instruction in the languages spoken in the Pacific Rim countries. The Education for Economic Security Act (P.L. 98-377) provides $5 million for the improvement of instruction in the critical languages. A number of bills aimed at this same general purpose have been or are about to be introduced in Congress: for example, Senator Simon's Foreign Language for National Security Act of 1984 and Congressman Panetta's Foreign Language and National Security Act of 1985.

These many initiatives in the improvement of the national capacity to teach foreign languages are most encouraging. However, right at the beginning of this upsurge of interest and investment, it is extremely important that a central planning, initiating, coordinating, and implementing organization be put in place to assure that the scattered efforts in the area of foreign language education are cumulative, that they address the central agenda issues, and, above all, that they are effective and represent the best use of our national resources. This is particularly true of the many federal funding programs, but it is equally true of those in the private sector.

Language instruction has become an area in which the American penchant for pluralism has become a vice. To effect the changes desperately needed in foreign language instruction, where the dispersion of control is already so great, a guiding intelligence at the core is needed. Assuming such a catalytic role in the development of a more effective system of foreign language instruction would be a natural first priority for the proposed National Foundation for International Studies.

> *Recommendation:* A primary function of the Foundation should be to provide central planning, coordination, and the necessary marginal resources to improve the nation's foreign language education system.

THE AGENDA

Where are the points of leverage for change in our foreign language instructional system? How can an immense, highly dispersed foreign language education system begin to transform itself? What can a centralized effort accomplish? How can the various initiatives now under way be coordinated to make a major difference? How can the collective national interest be expressed as a determinant of priority areas of development? How can we measure the effectiveness of efforts to introduce change? In short, what should be the agenda for a national Foundation in the strengthening of our national capacity to teach foreign languages?

Needs and Use Surveys

The first agenda item is an action plan that starts with a point of view. Stated simply, the national interest is concerned not with the language instruction system per se, but with the production and maintenance of usable foreign language competencies among adults, particularly those occupational groups that need, or should need, them in their work. We add the phrase "should need" because it can be reasonably argued that, from the perspective of the national interest, some groups, such as internationally oriented business leaders, foreign service officers, staff members of key congressional foreign affairs committees, military attaches, or technical assistance workers, may need more foreign language competency than we currently demand of them.

By focusing on adult needs for and use of foreign language skills, we mean to dramatize the point that the national payoff for the current large investment of time and money in foreign language instruction must be measured against adult use. If, for instance, very few people get enough skill to use it in real-life situations, or if whatever skill they learn in school has totally evaporated by the time they become fully functioning adults, then the system must be changed. The trouble is that we know almost nothing about the current or the most desirable adult use of foreign language skills in the United States. Establishing what adult foreign language skills are—perhaps, at the outset, only for key occupational groups—and how those skills are used is a necessary first step in the reorientation of our foreign language instructional system. The technology for such adult needs and use surveys is well established in Europe and elsewhere, and needs only to be adapted for use in the United States.

> *Recommendation:* The Foundation should cause surveys to be made of current adult use of foreign languages, particularly in key occupations in which foreign language use would be most productive. It should seek to determine how the current use pattern differs from optimal use, from the perspective of the national interest, and to utilize the conclusions of these surveys as guidelines for establishing priorities in an enhanced foreign language education system.

Pilot Programs

Focusing on foreign language skills held by adults dramatizes another difference between our own society and that of others. We concentrate virtually all of our foreign language instruction on young people enrolled in our formal educational system. In other societies, there are facilities for adults to learn other languages as the need for them becomes apparent. Here, adults' only recourse is a few proprietary language schools, and these tend to concentrate on a single teaching method, to teach only the first levels of language competency, and to cover only the most commonly taught languages. Our formal educational institutions, even in their continuing-education divisions, provide very little foreign language instruction for adults. When they do give instruction, they tend to force it into the same time frame, teaching style, and pacing of regular school classes, while the needs and timing of adults are often quite different. Moreover, we have virtually no facilities for maintaining or refreshing language skills once they are acquired.

While the success of fresh educational ventures must depend upon their long-term economic viability, the current organization of our language teaching system and the fiscal constraints that colleges and universities now face make it difficult for these institutions to take the risks involved in experimenting with the creation of new teaching facilities aimed specifically at adult audiences. What may fill a national need in the long term is not tried by individual institutions for want of venture capital. However, since the collective, national need for language teaching facilities aimed particularly at adults is so clear, a few individual institutions should be given the entrepreneurial support to develop model programs for this purpose.

> *Recommendation:* The Foundation should support the creation of experimental pilot programs in a few college or university continuing-education programs to give foreign language instruction to adults. Of particular interest would be programs geared to the special pace and learning styles of adults, programs aimed at skill maintenance and rejuvenation, and programs providing instruction in the less commonly taught languages.

A Common Metric

An equally important agenda item for the Foundation is the creation and diffusion of a common metric measuring, in an objective, consistent fashion, the degree of proficiency a person—student or adult—has in a foreign language. This metric should be equivalent across all languages and be used to certify general competency in all jobs for which a knowledge of a foreign language is relevant: business, government, education, journalism, and so on. In addition, the Foundation should assist in the diffusion of the metric throughout the society so that its use becomes truly universal, and a measurement of proficiency in one language or occupation is equivalent to that in another. Our current metric for the measurement of language competency—the length of time a language was studied when first acquired—is not sufficient. A new metric must be established that expresses language competency in terms of an individual's ability to use the language in increasingly demanding real-life situations with increasing effectiveness. The metric must measure genuine proficiency in the language, not just time spent in learning it.

The importance of establishing a common metric cannot be exaggerated. For one thing, only with the widespread application of a common metric will we have any reliable way of expressing the real demands on foreign language skill of particular jobs. Once developed, the common metric can be adopted as a criterion of employment in language-relevant government and business positions. This in turn would dramatize to students the utility of a foreign language competency for future employment, providing the motivation for foreign language learning so sorely needed in our educational system.

The development and adoption of a common metric will have other beneficial effects as well. Only with the adoption of a common metric will we begin to be able to measure the effectiveness of all or parts of our foreign language teaching system. Only with the adoption of a common metric will individual students or adults have any idea of how much language competency they do or do not possess, compared either with others like them or with the goal of full proficiency. Only with the adoption of a common metric will we begin to know which of the various language teaching methods works best for what kind of student and in what kind of learning situation.

Fortunately, over the past decade a fair amount of work toward establishing this common metric has been done. A measurement scale ranging from 0 for no competency to 5 for educated native-speaker competency, with half-point increments in between, was developed in the federal government's language teaching programs—first the Foreign Service Institute, then the Department of Defense and other agencies. Steps are currently being taken to make such a scale applicable for employment, job qualification, and promotion in as many federal agencies as possible. Further, a joint government-academic effort has been launched under the aegis of the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages to adapt the metric to the academic learning situation.

As this worthwhile effort toward the establishment of a universally used metric has progressed, a number of crucial issues have arisen that must be faced. For one thing, the scale has to be expanded at its lower end to provide rating gradations fine enough at the beginning stages of learning to measure the small incremental increases in language proficiency that are characteristic of academic classroom situations.

Second, the scale works best for speaking and for listening comprehension, skills that are best measured in face-to-face interviews. Making the metric equally effective for reading and writing skills remains a challenge.

Third, as the metric expands into the difficult languages, particularly those with especially complex orthographies such as Japanese, Chinese, and Arabic, some of the criteria used for dealing with the European languages that are most like our own have to be specially adapted to their needs.

Fourth, the development of proficiency testing strategies that are consistent and valid in a large number and variety of testing situations is a major challenge just beginning to be faced. What works well in a few tightly controlled testing situations with an experienced staff is easily corrupted when large numbers of people are to be tested, and when the staff administering and judging the tests have widely varying amounts of experience. Transforming pilot programs in applying the common metric into institutionalized, large-scale programs inevitably runs into a series of major problems: inventing new ways of testing a person's language competency that measure genuine proficiency but are relatively immune to variations in the ability and perspectives of those doing the rating; developing tests that can be administered to large numbers of people at the same time; providing training for substantial numbers of professionals to administer and interpret accurately the test results; constructing a national network of testing sites to make proficiency certification universally available—these are major challenges yet to be faced.

And when these challenges have been met, getting the use of the metric to be near-universal in as many sections of the population as possible, particularly among major employers such as international business and government, is a difficult marketing task that will take years to accomplish.

With all of its difficulties, retaining momentum in the movement toward a common metric is essential for the development of a meaningful national policy in foreign language learning and use. Without such a metric we will continue to have no way of measuring performance against objectives, no way of distinguishing excellence in teaching from pro forma, low-quality pedagogy, no way of setting up occupational qualifications that can recognize and utilize foreign language skills, and no way of moving language-competent individuals from one job to another with a meaningful certification of their skill level in that language. It is, indeed, an indication of the non-goal-oriented nature of our language teaching system, and the low value that we place on foreign language competency, that we have not created such a metric before. The further development and diffusion of the common metric should be a major goal of the proposed Foundation.

> *Recommendation:* The Foundation should continue and expand the efforts already under way toward the creation and adoption of a reliable national metric for foreign language proficiency in as many languages as possible, and in as many employment situations as possible. Support should be provided to create an effective national network of test sites and to train and certify the professionals who would administer and interpret the tests.

NECESSARY PRIOR RESEARCH

Many of the prerequisites to an improvement in our foreign language teaching system are not ready on the shelf just waiting to be applied. A number of them require prior research, but that research must be highly focused, highly applied in its orientation. It should lead directly to the preparation of new teaching materials or pedagogical practices. As we will note, such applied research in the field of language pedagogy is precisely the kind of inquiry that the existing national programs in support of research, both public and private, tend not to reach. First, however, what are some of the items on the research agenda that are important to the development of our national foreign language policy?

First, we need to develop criteria for evaluating the many competing innovations in language pedagogy. Another revolutionary teaching method—the monitor method, suggestopedia, total physical response, to name just a few of the more recent ones—seems to come along every year or so. We have no systematic way of determining what works best with what kind of student, at what level of instruction, and in what kind of learning situation. It would seem that such information would be essential for teachers or school administrators who are trying to decide what works for them. However, such a methodology for evaluating the effectiveness of language instructional programs is not now available in even the most rudimentary form. At present, the foreign language field is decidedly nonempirical in its decisions about the use of pedagogical techniques; this situation must be changed.

Second, if we are to focus on adult language competencies, then knowing something about the loss, retention, and rejuvenation of school-learned language skills would seem to be a crucial ingredient in the formation of sensible policy. While in the past two or three years, two major research projects have developed—one in the private sector and one in the Department of Defense—to discover something about the rate and pattern of skill loss, we have a long way to go before sensible skill maintenance and rejuvenation programs can be developed.

Third, most of the existing technology for foreign language instruction is appropriate for the beginning and intermediate competency levels. We must develop the capacity to train people to a near-native level of competency in a foreign language, or even the best-trained Americans will continue to be language cripples, using their foreign language skills haltingly and inaccurately. There are no materials available, nor even any general pedagogical guidelines, for instruction in upper-level skills.

Fourth, much of the demand among adults for foreign language competency—for instance, international business managers assigned abroad—is idiosyncratic, comes in fits and starts, and may be highly specialized in purpose. This situation clearly calls for the development of individualized and, to the extent possible, self-instructional materials. However, our foreign language teaching system tends to be classroom-oriented, with students sitting together in a class and marching in step through a common set of materials. Except for some commercially available materials that are of uncertain quality, tend to be limited to the early stages of language learning, and are concentrated in the most commonly taught languages, self-instructional materials are not generally available. Recently, a number of substantial efforts to remedy this situation have been made by the National Association for Self-Instructional Language Programs, by the Ohio State

University, and by the Foreign Service Institute. Research leading to the development of materials and teaching strategies for individualized or self-instructional materials is an important area for national investment.

Finally, language instruction lends itself well to automation of some of the teaching and testing processes. A major national investment in the development of effective automated teaching technology may help alleviate some of the problems of the uneven quality of instruction in our highly dispersed language teaching system. It can assist in the development of a common metric and a viable testing network. It can help us create a more individualized teaching system and make language instruction more available to learners outside the classroom. Within the last 10 years there has been a flowering of research and experimentation in the applicability of the newer high-technology teaching devices to foreign language instruction, much of it funded by the National Security Agency. What has been accomplished so far, however, is just a beginning. With a few exceptions, application of the newer technology tends to be limited to the most commonly taught languages, and to the early learning stages of those. Some of the most promising developments are in the use of live video programs picked up via satellite from broadcasts in the Soviet Union and other countries. Research and development in this area should be encouraged, and materials should be made more widely available.

It is one of the peculiarities of the way in which support is distributed throughout the government agencies—and until very recently, private support in this area has been conspicuously lacking—that there is no program under which the funding of these kinds of research comfortably fits. Or rather, it is more accurate to say that while the government has invested substantial sums for research on foreign language instruction, the money has almost all been spent on the improvement of teaching within the government's own language teaching programs. The government has invested very little in the diffusion of the knowledge gained within that system to the nongovernment world, nor has it been engaged in supporting research to improve the national language teaching system as a whole. And no one else has moved in to fill the vacuum. In this regard, it is useful to quote the recent findings in *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies:*

> The private foundations have, by and large, not been interested in investing in the research and development recently, there has been almost no place to go for such support. The International Education Program of the Department of Education has some research funds under Title VI, but they have generally amounted to less than $1 million annually and must also be used to support all other evaluative and prescriptive research on area studies. Moreover, in part because of the limitation of funds, the International Education Program's tendency has been to fund small, isolated projects; larger, longer term ventures that might have greater impact cannot be supported.
>
> Research on language pedagogy has not been part of the mission of any of the other granting agencies of the federal government. The Education Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) has supported the development of teaching materials—even this seems to be coming to an end—and the training of language teachers on a pilot program basis, but neither the Education nor the Research Divisions of the NEH can support basic pedagogical research for the transformation of the field. The Research Division of NEH does include research related to language learning, but to qualify for funding under NEH's research program, work must be on

> literature or linguistic features of the language, not language learning itself, and, in particular, not on anything measuring language proficiency or evaluating the effectiveness of alternative methods of language teaching. Even though almost half of the humanists on our campuses are engaged in language instruction, as a research topic, language instruction is not a humanity! Even when the staff of the NEH chooses to encourage the submission of such projects, the screening committees tend to weed them out. . . .
>
> The National Science Foundation's (NSF) linguistics section might have been expected to be interested in language pedagogy, but it is not. As in the NEH, the moment a research topic becomes applied and particularly when it touches upon language testing or pedagogical research, it falls outside of the self-defined mission of the NSF. . . .
>
> For most of its history, the Fund for Improvement of Post-Secondary Education was not interested in language instruction. Although it is now interested—it has recently awarded a grant for the creation of a major proficiency testing center for the commonly taught languages—its funds are extremely limited. Moreover, it has the same bias as the NEH; it will fund experimental action programs, but not the basic research to inform those programs before they are created.
>
> The National Institute of Education, which does fund pedagogical research and institution formation, has traditionally limited itself to secondary and primary education, to the commonly taught languages, and to bilingual education. Moreover, that agency has had drastically reduced funding over the past several years so that a new definition of scope is unlikely.
>
> Recently, the National Security Agency has been awarding funds for research on foreign language pedagogy. It has been particularly active in promoting the use of high-technology instrumentation in language instruction and in the establishment of criteria for proficiency testing.[1]

There have been some changes in this situation during the past year. For instance, the National Institute of Education has appended funding for research on second-language learning to a recent grant for bilingual education research. But basically, the situation described above still obtains. Support for research in foreign language pedagogy falls between the cracks of federal programs in support of research. Support of research on issues such as those suggested earlier should provide a natural role for the proposed Foundation.

> *Recommendation:* The Foundation should provide sustained funding for research and experimentation related to the improvement of foreign language pedagogy. First priority in that research should be given to (1) evaluation technology to assess the effectiveness of various teaching methodologies; (2) language skill attrition, retention, and rejuvenation; (3) instructional strategies for upper level skill acquisition; (4) individualized and self-paced instruction; and (5) the application of communications technology to language instruction.

A NATIONAL FOREIGN LANGUAGE RESOURCE CENTER

The transformation of such a large and diffuse enterprise as our national language teaching system is not likely to occur without the assistance of one or more organizations whose principal task is to carry out that transformation. Just casting government and private funds widely on such an extensive sea will not accomplish the purpose. Nor will the traditional, relatively passive role of government funding suffice. If major changes in the national language teaching system are to occur, more proactive programs, ones specifically created to effect change, not just to support existing activities, must be developed. What is needed is a national foreign language resource center to serve as a catalyst in that transformation. Its tasks would be to create, evaluate, and work for the adoption of satisfactory techniques of language instruction capable of carrying a wide variety of learners to a high enough level of competency to permit genuine use. The functions of the center would be (1) carrying out or commissioning the research and materials development required for that transformation; (2) implementation of the strategies that emerge from this research, particularly with regard to training; (3) diffusion and articulation; and (4) evaluation. In terms of audience, the center would serve the needs of primary and secondary school teachers and administrators; college and university teachers providing language instruction as part of the general education requirement; language teachers training area specialists; language teachers for government employees; language teachers in proprietary institutions; and language teachers of foreign business language.

Research and Materials

The research agenda of the center would parallel the items listed above in the overall national agenda. We include under the rubric of "research" the conduct of experimental classrooms to ensure that theoretical findings are translated into actual pedagogical practice. Since not all of the requisite skills would be gathered into the center, some of the necessary research would be conducted in a more dispersed fashion at the major language teaching institutions throughout the country, including those in the federal government. With respect to research, in addition to conducting some crucial work in-house, the center's functions would also include setting a collective agenda for research relating to effective language pedagogy, coordinating it, making it cumulative, and ensuring that the research advances actual classroom teaching and student learning.

If a major advance in language pedagogy is to take place, the center must be able not only to create new materials but also to gather and collect feedback from the many dispersed innovators now producing language teaching materials all over the country. The need is particularly great where the preparation of these materials is a cottage industry.

Training

Training, the first aspect of implementation, includes all of the following priorities:

1. The center should develop a capacity to train teachers whose education has been linguistics, the literature of the language, or both. The pedagogical training envisioned would have to be language-specific and geared as much to the linguistic needs of American speakers as to the structure of the language itself.
2. The center should create and administer intensive instruction programs for students enrolled in secondary schools and colleges, as well as those in business and government. That is, the center should offer intensive study "abroad" as an alter-

native to extensive language programs. Another major audience would be members of the lay public who wanted to study a foreign language intensively and exclusively.

3. The center should act as an institution of last resort for instruction in the truly scarce languages as universities curtail their language and area studies programs, with all of them tending to drop the same peripheral languages.

Diffusion and Articulation

Diffusion and articulation can be considered together, for we need to think of ways to involve teachers at all levels of the educational system in ongoing study of foreign language pedagogy and refinement of teaching techniques. The center would put in place collaboratives that would enable professionals not only to stay in touch with primary research, but also to make contributions to the research agenda. A renewed sense of professional rigor would likely accompany the growth of greater understanding of the teaching of foreign languages.

Evaluation

The center would serve as an impartial evaluator of the effectiveness of teaching programs and teaching methods for different types of students, learning time required, and cost. It would also serve as a major administration and validation center for the common metric.

The creation of such a national foreign language resource center by the Foundation would follow the model of the National Institutes of Health centers, the regional centers established by the National Institute of Education, or the collaborative science centers established by the National Science Foundation. One difference would be that they would be expected to gain nonfederal support as well. Several of the private foundations—Exxon, Ford, Pew—have already provided funds for the creation and maintenance of such a center.

> *Recommendation:* The Foundation should help create and sustain a national foreign language resource center to assist in the upgrading of the national foreign language teaching system by conducting and coordinating the needed research; preparing new teaching materials as needed; training teachers; administering intensive teaching programs; providing instruction in languages not taught elsewhere; articulating the various levels of instruction; diffusing the results of research and experimentation in new teaching technologies; evaluating teaching methodologies and programs; and managing a national proficiency test network to administer the common metric.

NOTE

1. Richard D. Lambert et al., *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Washington, DC: Association of American Universities, 1984), pp. 89–91.

12

Foreign Language Instruction: A National Agenda

There has never been a time in my memory when there has been a more open moment, a more encouraging climate for the development of a fresh American national policy with respect to the teaching of foreign languages.* Many, many people in Congress, throughout the federal government in the private foundations, and among the general public have become convinced that the foreign language competencies of both Americans in general, and those in positions where knowledge of a foreign language is essential to job performance, are far too low.

Let me mention just a few of the most recent developments. If you have not read the book by then Congressman, now Senator, Paul Simon called *The Tongue-Tied American* (3) you owe it to yourself to do so. It is the most eloquent case for second language instruction that I have ever seen.

More recently, a report by the congressionally mandated National Advisory Board for the U.S. Department of Education's International Education Programs was issued. It is entitled *Critical Needs in International Education: Recommendations for Action* (1). I know that many of you have seen it. Its recommendations, aimed at establishing the future policy of the Department of Education, primarily deal with what is usually called "K through 12," that is, kindergarten through the 12th grade, and with "citizens' education," that is, providing information to the American public outside of the formal education system. But the bulk of the report is spent talking about foreign language instruction. It recommends that every school district in the nation "provide every student with an opportunity to begin the study of a foreign language at the earliest years of formal education and to continue study of the same language until a functionally useful level of measured proficiency has been achieved" (3).

The *Critical Needs* report also calls for the provision of instruction in upper-level language skills. Indeed, one committee member recommended that we urge colleges and universities to adopt the British levels of performance for admission to and graduation from universities, but other members thought this too extreme a requirement, at least in the short run. In addition, the report calls for provision of special foreign language training facilities for the linguistically gifted; the integration of language training across education levels; statement of requirements in terms of proficiency standards rather than classroom exposure time; the development of language skill maintenance and upgrading of materials and facilities; the provision of a funding pool to promote research relating to effective language pedagogy; and the integration of foreign language instruction with other aspects of international studies. In terms of personnel, it recommends that states require demonstrated proficiency on the part of language teachers as a criterion for teacher certification, and at the postsecondary level, the recognition of outstanding achievement in language pedagogy as a tenure qualification at least equal in importance to scholarship in literature. Those of you who are faithful attenders of the national meetings of language professional organizations, especially ACTFL, will recognize many of these themes.

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* Text of the keynote address delivered at the Joint Annual Meeting of ACTFL, AATF, and AATG, Chicago, November 17, 1984. Reprinted from *Foreign Language Annals* 18 (October 1985): 379–83.

This report was specifically commissioned by Secretary Bell. He saw it as a successor to the Report on the National Commission on Excellence; I call it "Son of Nation at Risk." Now that he has gone, it is difficult to know what will happen to its recommendations, particularly when the OMB budget-cutting axe begins to thrash about again now that the election is over. The Board, however, continues. They were appointed by Congress as a public body to provide just such continuity, and they feei very strongly about these recommendations.

For those of you who have not seen it, let me call your attention to another recently issued report, this one dealing with our national resource base for language and area studies. Entitled *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Lambert et al., 2), it presents the results of a major national survey conducted by the Association of American Universities for the Department of Defense and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The report contains an extensive evaluation of campus-based teaching resources for the less commonly taught languages and a very specific agenda for upgrading and reinforcing those programs. It has already had a major impact on directing federal attention to the need for a major upgrading of our national capacity to train a cadre of Americans to a very high level of skill in foreign languages, something that happens all too rarely now.

There are, of course, other reports, all of them testifying to the unusual national ferment in the area of foreign language instruction. The real questions are: when are some of these recommendations going to be implemented, when are the catalytic funds going to be available to assist in the national transformational strategy that we all think is necessary—or, to put it crudely, when is there going to be a nickel in the cup. One thing is clear, however: before anything is done the language community needs to get its act together, decide what it really wants, and go after it. As a contribution toward that end, let me just mention what I consider to be items high on the immediate national agenda.

First, when I spoke at the outset about the national concern about foreign language competencies, it should be noted that that concern is for the language competency among the adult population. Language instruction in the schools is seen as a means to that end, not as a goal in its own right. The current surge of interest in language instruction derives not from anything the language teachers are doing better (or for that matter worse) but from a reaffirmation of the presumed value of foreign language skills to adults. The importance of stressing this fact is to emphasize that the problem for much of the school-based language instruction is that the key to its success lies in large part outside of the school system: it is dependent upon the institutional and motivational context for foreign language use in the larger society. Unless we increase adult use of foreign languages, particularly in job-related activities, very little progress will be made in language learning at the student level. If a substantial number of job opportunities require foreign language skills for entry and promotion, the current inefficient language teaching system will be forced to change. Without this increase in adult usage, the same diffuse and unreal set of instructional goals which now provides the rationale for language study will prevail, a rationale that is increasingly unconvincing to our students, to our colleagues, and to the nation at large.

In view of the importance of adult language use to language learning among students, it is surprising that we know so little about that use in the United States: we do not know how many and which adults have occasion to need to or to want to use a foreign language, nor how much of what they learned in school is retained into adulthood to be used if need be (2). Many European nations carry out extensive surveys of language needs and language use among the populace in general or among particular occupational groups to guide national policy with respect to language education. In part as a consequence, they also tend to have very extensive networks of public and proprietary schools to teach language on demand when it is needed by adults. I have never understood why there are no such adult language utilization surveys for the United States nor why the American language teaching fraternity has not spent more effort on innovative instructional programs for adults, programs geared to their experience, rhythm, learning styles, and time constraints rather than those of school- or college-age students. Outside of the government language schools, we tend to leave that to the proprietaries and to the purveyors of semi-automated, quick-fix teaching materials. To recapitulate, then, the first major point I want to make is that in planning for the expansion of our foreign language teaching capacity we must include planning for expanding adult usage and providing adult-focused instruction. We must view what we do in the educational system with this eventual payoff firmly in mind.

The second major point I would make is one that is strongly made in both the *Critical Needs* report and in *Beyond Growth:* it is high time we developed a common metric for language skills, what the Educational Testing Service (ETS) conference several years ago called a "common yardstick," one that encompasses all skill levels, in as many of the major world languages as possible, and that covers all four skills—reading, listening, speaking, and writing. When we talk about how skilled a person is in any language, it should be possible to express that skill level in terms that are commonly understood and that are approximately equivalent from one language to another. The current joint effort of ACTFL and the U.S. government's Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) to create a set of proficiency standards largely through the oral interview are immensely welcome steps in that direction, and we can all admire and encourage that effort. With its potential for feedback on the classroom instructional process, in particular guiding the instruction toward the production of real-life usable skills instead of the mastery of particular textual and classroom materials, it already comprises a major step forward. It is at the frontier of that effort and on the inevitable problems that will be encountered in this process that our attention must now be focused. I mention some of these problems with a bit of trepidation since I seem to detect that the proficiency test movement is in what I would call the "white heat" phase of a social movement: any criticism is viewed as heresy deserving immediate burning at the stake. However, let me forge ahead.

One of the problems already faced in ACTFL's effort to carry the ILR/FSI (Foreign Service Institute) scale over into the academic world is that most high school and college students never get up to the skill level where that scale begins to define real differences in proficiency. Retaining the general proficiency orientation of the ILR/FSI scale while expanding it at the lower-skill levels is a major theoretical and practical problem to whose solution we must all contribute. Second, the existing ILR/FSI scoring system, which is anchored in the oral interview testing procedure, is most satisfactory for speaking and listening skills. It is, in practice, considerably less precise for reading and writing. Particularly as the common metric begins to be used in the academic world, the development of a much more carefully pinpointed scale for reading becomes an important frontier area of research and development. Some progress has been made in trying to establish the difficulty of texts but this is only an interim solution. Third, as we extend the use of the common metric in the academic world beyond the commonly taught languages, particularly into reading skills in languages with orthographies difficult to master such as Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic, and when we seek linguistic equivalents of the newly expanded ratings at the lower end of the scale, it becomes very difficult to apply the same approach used with the European languages where script is not a major problem. This is another frontier task with which ACTFL is currently concerned. And finally, the current strategy in extending the application of the common metric through the training and certification of teachers in the proper method of carrying out the oral interview is a useful and necessary first step in expanding the use of the common metric. It seeks to standardize the judgment of the testers as well as the content and style of test administration and scoring. This style of management of the common metric, however, has a built-in classic dilemma. As the number of testers using the new metric increases beyond a few dozen, the problem of sustaining a consistent rating procedure becomes overwhelming. As a former academic planning dean I can tell you that in educational administration there is an equivalent to what physicists call the law of entropy, that as educational innovations get more and more widespread use, they tend to be more and more corrupted. This may be particularly true of a difficult art form like the oral interview method of determining general language proficiency. Entropy may already be underway. As a consequence, in the near future we will probably have to construct carefully crafted, standardized diagnostic tests to supplement the oral interview as a general proficiency measure. As an aside, I might comment that in the course of conducting a major national study on language skill attrition I was startled to discover how underdeveloped the technology is for discrete point diagnostic testing. The social movement to create and adopt generalized proficiency tests has had the curious side effect of sweeping diagnostic testing into a dark corner. For language learning attrition research, indeed for empirical research on language pedagogy in general, an expansion in the range of our battery of tests to include discrete point diagnostic tests is essential.

Whatever the problems, however, surely the first order of business is agreement on a satisfactory common metric and the training of people to use that metric accurately and consistently. It is encouraging that ACTFL and others are already working to this end. It is to be hoped that the inevitable problems that will arise as we attempt to extend the use of our existing metric into as many other language learning situations as possible will be solved with both patience and ingenuity, and without surrendering our crucial goal of being able to state how much language competency a user has in terms that all will understand.

Another major item on the national agenda seems so simple I am afraid to mention it. With our common and agreed upon metric in place we should try to determine what styles of language pedagogy work best. The present situation is simply untenable. For some reason the field of language pedagogy has been singularly unempirical. In place of carefully mounted experiments determining the comparative outcome of various teaching strategies, we have periodic waves of advocacy for new approaches, each one declaring its predecessors to be totally worthless and obsolete, and doing so on the basis of extravagant assertion rather than careful evidence. For instance, we have the Silent Way, Total Physical Response, Suggestopedia, the Monitor Method, the Berlitz system, the Michel Thomas system, computer-assisted instruction, the Lozanov method, the Rassias method, and many, many more sects and cults of language instruction. We have debates about the relative value of extensive vs. intensive, of self-paced vs. individualized, of oral-aural vs. text-oriented methods. Yet I look in vain for the careful studies that weigh the value of one against the other, or even any technology as to how one could tell. I have been going from foundation to foundation trying to get what I call Project Babel funded. It proposes to get the advocates of five or six of these methods to agree on a common set of teaching objectives and the test to measure them, provide each method a set of randomly assigned classes of comparable students who had not been exposed to the language before, and turn them loose. I have had no success in mounting such a study, but I still think it is a good idea. It would at least make a contribution to the question I hear language teachers ask with great frequency: how can you tell which one is best? The obvious answer is that they all have clasped onto a partial truth. The real question is what combination works best for what kind of student in what kind of learning situation at what level in what language. Surely we should get on with the task of at least deciding how to go about thinking about answering that question.

Mentioning the different pedagogical styles reminds me of another major item on the national agenda. Almost all of the methods being so hotly debated are aimed at the early stages of language instruction, at what a student learns in the first year or so. Our teaching technology and our textbooks and materials tend to peter out at the higher skill levels. Where are the texts and techniques—other than for literature and similar reading skills—for getting a student to a skill level close to that of the native speaker? We train millions of students up to what I have heard described as "abominable fluency" at perhaps a 0 + or 1 level on the FSI scale. No wonder we do not bother to check their retained language skills when they are adults. With this level of competency to start with, it is almost certain that the slate has been washed almost clean again by the time they reach adulthood. Where are the materials to get someone from an FSI level 2 + to a 3 or beyond in speaking or listening comprehension? In what classroom can he or she study? We can't really begin to talk about creating a useful pool of language competencies for the nation until we flesh out our instructional capacity at the higher skill levels.

Let me mention another item on the national agenda. In language learning we are dealing with a cumulative skill whose parts need to be carefully layered and articulated with one another. In practice, however, language instruction is spread across several very unarticulated levels of our educational system. We have almost no mechanism for putting the whole student together by attending carefully to what he or she needs at each stage of learning. Increasingly, students are starting to study a foreign language at the elementary or middle school level, although most students start in high school and take some foreign language training in college. Accordingly, we split students' language learning up on the procrustean beds of high school and college teaching styles, and divide it into first-, second-, and third-year levels, as if they were the same for everyone or were meaningful plateaus of language acquisition. Moreover, the first-, second-, and third-year teachers rarely put their heads together either to talk about teaching materials as a whole—that is left to the textbook manufacturers—or about the progress of an individual student. One of the recent experiments which I admired most wholeheartedly was the Academic Alliances project that brought language teachers together across the divides in the educational system—high school teachers with college level teachers, administrators with classroom instructors. All were amazed to discover how much they have to say to each other.

Let me mention one other national agenda item, then make a couple of closing remarks. Surely at some point we might consider whether our national choice of languages to teach our students—that is, Spanish, French, and German—is as God-given as the present system assumes. The fact that the so-called less commonly taught languages are less commonly taught is an historical accident. At some time in the near future we might want to consider whether our marriage to our European heritage should be quite so determinate of the languages we teach most commonly in our schools and colleges.

Let me now return to the point I started with. If these problems are to be solved, it is obvious that some catalytic financial resources need to be made available. Fortunately, there are signs that such funding may be forthcoming. In the recently enacted Math and Science Bill that provides large sums for the upgrading of our national facilities in these disciplines, a sum of several million was authorized as an annual expenditure for improving foreign language instruction as well, particularly instruction in what are cryptically referred to as "critical languages."

In addition, Title VI of the Higher Education Act, which contains the most important funding for research in and teaching of the less commonly taught languages, is up for congressional reauthorization. In anticipation of that event, a sub-committee of the National Advisory Board is preparing a report for the Secretary of Education on the future content of that act.

I can also report that some of the other government agencies, notably Department of Defense, Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, and National Institute of Education, are getting more interested in supporting innovations in foreign language instruction, as are several of the major private foundations. Up to now language instruction has been viewed in the same fashion as libraries, bottomless pits into which money can be poured with few demonstrable results. I believe that viewpoint is beginning to change. This is a time to get the agenda for improving foreign language instruction out front and center.

In closing let me just mention two organizational matters affecting our ability to address this national agenda. A number of us are beginning to wonder whether the major transformations in our language teaching establishment that the above and other agenda items imply can be carried out just by letting our dispersed, uncoordinated system work its way. There is a suggestion that is getting increased attention: that one or more national centers is needed to play a catalytic role in the necessary pedagogy research, test development and administration, materials preparation, teacher training and certification, and dissemination. Do not be surprised if you begin to hear about the possibility of establishing such a center.

Second, one tangible by-product of the evolution of the "open moment" I mentioned at the outset, a time when language teaching as well as other aspects of international studies are once again on the public mind, is a proposal to create a separate fund or endowment for international education paralleling the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. This proposal appeared in both the *Critical Needs* and *Beyond Growth* reports. Planning is now afoot to try to realize this goal. If the language teaching community is not once again to be left at the starting gate it ought to get its agenda and its rationale in order.

In short, it seems a very good time for us to take a look at ourselves and to decide what we really want to do. It behooves the language teaching profession to get its collective act together, to make sure it knows what it wants, get some sense of priorities, and develop some strategies that contain at least a plausible promise for accomplishing the desired goals.

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13

Surveys of Language-Skill Needs in the United States

It is a curious fact that the style and focus of language-needs surveys in Europe and the United States have almost no overlap.* The comprehensive survey of research on foreign needs compiled by M. Oud-de Glas covers none of the literature I am about to discuss,[1] nor do American discussions of language needs include the European literature. Usually such discontinuities flow from the discrete scholarly domains in which the Continental and the American scholars operate, but in this case the reasons are more fundamental:

1. European language-needs surveys tend to concentrate on the use of European languages, what the Americans call the "commonly taught languages," while American studies are largely concerned with non-Western languages (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Hindi, Swahili), what some Europeans call the "little languages."
2. Most European studies are concerned solely with language skills, while the Americans tend to mix language skills with expertise on the country where the language is spoken, what they call "area studies."
3. Most European studies are concerned with language skills of the general adult population or of all members of a particular occupation or profession, while Americans tend to concentrate on how many linguistically trained specialists are needed in an occupation or profession (e.g., business executives, educators, government employees).

A common assumption in the European literature, if I read it correctly, is that a large part of the population or of an occupation will need a foreign language skill. Consequently, the debate is about which groups need skills, in what order of priority, and how to shape the formal education system and the adult learning opportunities to serve such needs. The closest the Americans come to this notion is in their debates about the foreign language requirement in secondary schools and colleges and universities, but even here the arguments in favor of retaining such a requirement usually center on the general educational value of learning a foreign language—any language—rather than on the use of the language as an adult.[2] Indeed, while there is systematic reporting in the United States on the number of students enrolled in various languages, on the number of classes and on the number of institutions that do and do not have a foreign language requirement,[3] to my knowledge there are no studies at all on which, if any, of the language skills students learn in school are retained,[4] let alone used, by American adults in general or by members of a specific occupation or profession. Mention should be made of the literature decrying the inability of most Americans to speak any foreign languages and exhorting them to become at least bilingual,[5] but little attention is paid to the use for such competencies and which languages people should know. Meanwhile, American schools keep turning out students with low-level competencies in French, Spanish, and German, since those are the languages in which teachers are trained.

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* Reprinted from *ADFL Bulletin* 14 (March 1983): 10–16.

Given these different concerns of European and American scholars and language policymakers, the American tradition of language-needs surveys may be of little direct use to current European language policy concerns. American surveys, however, may suggest a fresh focus for language-needs research in Europe.

As I have noted, American studies of language needs have largely been concerned with what was perceived as a dangerously deficient national stock of scholars or other professionals with a competency in any of the non-Western languages. There are various reasons for this deficiency. For one thing, we had no imperial tradition to serve as a training ground for members of our educated elite, nor did we have many business connections outside Europe and Latin America. The few Americans who knew about the languages and cultures of distant peoples were generally missionaries, students of classical Orientalia, or Asian immigrants, mainly from China and Japan. While there had been some earlier recognition of this problem,[6] the global domain of World War II brought the deficiency forcefully home to American policymakers. The response was to begin training experts as quickly as possible and in as many languages as possible. In so doing, the government set the basic themes of what was later to become a continuing concern of national language policy. The emphasis was on "less commonly taught languages"; indeed, the less commonly taught the language, the more deserving it was of federal government support. The purpose was to train experts to a high level of fluency, not to diffuse language competencies widely through the general population. Language training was to go hand in hand with training about the countries where the languages were spoken—area studies—and the sites for such training were to be the major university campuses. In the middle of World War II, the U.S. Army organized Army Specialized Training Programs (ASTP) as part of a massive effort to create both teaching materials and instructional programs in a wide variety of what were the exotic languages. I recall learning Turkish under such a program during the early days of World War II and having the materials created fresh for each succeeding day's instruction. The area courses on Turkey were taught mainly by expatriate Greeks whose love for the Turks and their culture was, at best, limited.

After the war, with the help of several major private foundations, a number of prototype language and area studies programs following the ASTP model were established on major American university campuses. When in 1957 the Soviet Union successfully launched the satellite Sputnik, few Americans believed such an achievement was possible. The United States government and a fair portion of the educated public blamed this lack of foreknowledge on the inadequate number of Americans who could read Russian publications in the original language or who had a sufficiently sophisticated knowledge of that country to judge correctly its actions and potential. As a result, the

American government, in a piece of legislation known as the National Defense Education Act Title VI (NDEA VI), undertook to finance the establishment of numerous centers to train specialists primarily in African, East Asian, East European, Middle Eastern, South Asian, and Southeast Asian languages and societies. Aside from the languages of the Soviet bloc countries, the only European languages included were those of Scandinavia. Although Latin America was later added to the area studies center list, the language component was excluded since Spanish was considered to be a "commonly taught language." There are some European studies centers, but they tend to engage in social science research rather than in the training of specialists and to assume rather than teach a language competency; they are not supported by the government under NDEA VI.

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been put into language and area studies programs over the thirty-year history of NDEA VI.[7] Several hundred programs scattered throughout higher education in the United States now go far beyond those that receive support from the government.[8] For instance, in South Asian studies there are at least forty organized university or college programs, of which only six receive government support. A large-scale program such as the East Asia Center at Harvard University, the Russian Studies Center at Columbia University, the South Asia Center at the University of Pennsylvania, the Latin American Studies Center at the University of Texas or Florida, or the African Studies Center at Michigan State will have an annual budget of three or four million dollars, a faculty of fifty or more professors, and up to several hundred students training to be specialists. In 1969 we counted about thirteen thousand language and area specialists (Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*, p. 11); now there are probably twice that number.

I relate the history of language and area studies in the United States because this movement has given rise to a rich literature on language needs. Now I want to summarize some of that literature to indicate the categories under which needs research has been carried out, to note some of the methodology and policy implications of that research, and to mark trends.

Most of the literature on language and area studies is concerned not with an assessment of needs as such or, barring a few exceptions, with the size of the existing pool of specialists but with the number and characteristics of the programs aimed at producing specialists as well as enrollments in their courses. The extreme scarcity of trained specialists was taken for granted, and in those halcyon days of great demand for all kinds of highly educated people, no one bothered to specify the demand for specialists. It was assumed that the national need existed and that it would be translated into employment. In fact, most of the early products of these programs were employed in the programs themselves, as more and more universities established language and area centers dealing with more and more countries of the world.

The Social Science Research Council produced a series of surveys in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[9] Most of them were inventories of existing programs, courses, and teaching personnel by world area. In 1946–47 Robert Hall counted 14 language and area studies programs in the United States: 6 on Latin America, 3 on East Europe, 1 on South Asia, and 4 on East Asia. By 1951 there were 25: still 6 on Latin America but more than before on other areas: 5 on East Europe, 2 on the Middle East, 1 on Africa, 1 on South Asia, 2 on Southeast Asia, and 8 on East Asia. The most comprehensive analysis of language and area studies in the United States was carried out between 1969 and 1973 by Richard D. Lambert, in *Language and Area Studies Review*, also under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. By then, United States government financial support under NDEA VI had been in effect for more than a decade, and the private foundations and universities had made an even greater investment of funds and personnel in this effort. There were 312 language and area studies programs: 70 on Latin America, 58 on East Europe, 36 on the Middle East, 34 on Africa, 26 on South Asia, 15 on Southeast Asia, and 73 on East Asia (p. 15).

This survey, however, covered much more ground than the earlier studies. One part of it examined established individual specialists with a professional interest in one or another of the world areas under review.

How the comprehensive list of specialists was drawn up may be of interest.

> The first step in drawing the sample was to get membership lists of the six principal area-oriented professional associations: the African Studies Association (ASA), the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), the American Oriental Society (AOS), the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), and the Middle East Studies Association. In addition, we examined the publication lists of faculty members of graduate degree–granting college and university departments that applied for NDEA Title VI fellowships (virtually all those that give Ph.D.'s) in the social science and humanities disciplines. Each faculty member who, during the past five years, had published an article or book on one of the world areas in our survey was added to our master list. Then, the names of all of those who were listed as faculty members of the NDEA Title VI language and area studies centers or one of the programs applying for NDEA Title VI graduate fellowships were included. Finally, all the members of the Society for International Development (SID) and the International Studies Association (ISA) who had interests or experience in the areas covered were included. (pp. 10–11)

The combined list comprised 13,139 persons, of whom 5,618 or 51.5% returned detailed questionnaires concerning their area competencies and their interests. A much remarked-on feature of this survey was the specification of objective criteria for what were called "language and residence qualified specialists": two visits to the area, a residence of three or more years, one trip during the previous five years, and a self-rating of being able to read, write, or speak a language of the area "easily." To show how fluid the definition of specialist is, out of the 5,618 who returned our questionnaires, only 924 met these not very strict criteria of expertise (p. 59).

In addition to the survey of individual specialists, detailed information was collected on 286 organized programs, including their organization within the university, their financing, their courses on the world area, and the languages they taught. Of special interest was the profile showing the sharp decline in enrollments for most languages after the first two years of instruction (Table 5.5, pp. 166–76). Clearly in many of the less commonly taught languages, as in the commonly taught languages, many students were achieving only a low-level competency as measured by the years devoted to the study of that language.

Adding to the information on programs were detailed questionnaires returned by 3,104 students who were currently enrolled in the programs and by 1,278 graduates who

Table 13.1: Relevance of Area Training to Employment for Program Graduates

		First Job	Current Job
No area relevance	1	9.3%	7.3%
	2	9.8	8.4
	3	11.5	10.2
	4	11.8	10.0
	5	15.4	17.0
	6	12.7	17.6
Totally area focused	7	29.5	29.5
Mean scale score		4.70	4.91

had been trained in one of the programs and were now employed elsewhere. We asked the graduates to rate the extent to which their subsequent employment used their area-specific training including their language training. The scale went from 1 for no area relevance to 7 for completely area focused. The accompanying table shows the distribution of responses. These data make clear that many students trained as area specialists make only partial use of these skills in their work.

In addition to reports covering many or all of the world areas, several dozen surveys of existing specialists and courses were made for each country or world area, and recommendations were drawn up for the future development of the field. As in the SSRC reports, the underlying assumption was of extreme scarcity of personnel, and attention was concentrated on how to increase the supply, how to distribute it more evenly among the countries of the region and among the academic disciplines, and how to improve the overall capacity to conduct research and to train students. Most such surveys covered both language and area studies, although occasionally a report would deal with language instruction alone.[10]

Although the demand for specialists was generally ignored, one section of Lambert's *Language and Area Studies Review* did give two paragraphs to the balance between supply and demand. It is useful to quote them both in order to illustrate the emerging notion of language need.

> On the supply side, the first decision that must be made is what to use as the rate of increase in the number of new graduates. Using a ten-year average for the past decade would give us an annual increment in the rate of growth of 23.6% and a total production of 23,093 new language and area studies–trained Ph.D.'s in the next ten years. But this figure is clearly too high. For one thing, the growth rate has slowed down appreciably, as it has for graduate degrees in general. The growth rate in Ph.D.'s at NDEA centers was only 3.7% higher in 1970–71 than it was in 1967–70 and current evidence is that this rate of increase is about right for the current year. Using the 3.7% incremental rate, NDEA centers will produce an estimated 9,568 Ph.D.'s in the next decade. However, about one-third of the language and area specialists are now produced by programs that are not NDEA centers. The total production in all organized programs, based upon the number of current specialist students in our sample who expected to graduate in 1970–71, was 1,177, and there were 838 who graduated from NDEA centers. Inflating our estimate of the total language and area studies Ph.D.

> production accordingly, we now expect that 13,438 will graduate over the next ten years.
>
> Turning to the demand side, let us use Allan Cartter's most recent estimate of future college and university faculty needs based upon: (1) expected increases in the college-age population; (2) an assumption that high school graduates will increase from 80% to 90% of the relevant age group; (3) an assumption that the percentage of high school graduates who will go to college will increase from 61% to 70%; (4) an assumption that faculty/student ratios will stay at 1:20; and (5) a mean net replacement rate due to death and retirements of 1.4% per annum. On these bases, the estimated demand for new college and university teachers over the next ten years is 232,195. If we assume that the language and area specialists will have the same share (4.46%) of the demand as they represent among the 1969–70 Ph.D.'s at relatively full employment, then their share in the total demand will be 10,356. Of this total demand, only a fraction will be for Ph.D.'s. Using as an estimate of this fraction the percent of language and area specialists currently employed in higher education who hold Ph.D.'s (83%), the estimated demand for specialists currently employed in higher education will be 8,595. To this, we must add the non-academic demand. Fixing this at the proportion of past program graduates who are employed in jobs outside of higher education (37.4%), we have an estimated additional demand of 5,441 of which 4,516 (83%) will be for Ph.D.'s. This gives us a total demand for language and area studies Ph.D.'s of 13,111—not a bad match for an estimated supply of 13,438. In fact, the difference (327 or 2.4% of the estimated supply) is less than the current unemployment rate of past program graduates (3.5%), which is probably a structural minimum representing people who do not enter or are withdrawn from the gainfully employed labor market, such as housewives. Supply and demand could not come much closer if the Ph.D. production system had been carefully planned with the constraints of total demand clearly in mind. (pp. 324–25)

A similar, although somewhat more refined, analysis of demand for what were referred to as international studies specialists was made a decade later by two officers of the Ford Foundation, Elinor G. Barber and Warren Ilchman. On the supply side, concentrating on Ph.D. production, they compared the estimated stock of specialists and the rate of increase contained in the Lambert report, based on their survey of the Ph.D.'s graduated from the sixteen universities that produce over half of the doctorates in international studies. They reported: "By comparing the estimated Ph.D. stock in Table 1 with what Lambert found in 1969, one is struck by the fact that the stock doubled in the decade of the 1970's. Approximately 17,500 holders of Ph.D.'s could be identified as potential International Studies specialists in 1979."[11]

First in the Lambert study, then in Barber and Ilchman, an important shift took place in the notion of supply and demand for language and area studies specialists. Assuming that the number of specialists by any definition of need was too small, previous research had emphasized rapid growth in the absolute number of specialists. Little attention was paid to the distribution of specialists among the various world areas and disciplines. By the time of the Lambert report, this laissez-faire approach to internal distribution was no longer acceptable. The enumeration of specialists, programs, and students made it clear that the number of experts varied considerably by world area, with East Asian specialists being most numerous, followed by Latin American, East European, Middle Eastern, African, South Asian, and Southeast Asian specialists in that order. In addition, under the broad rubric of general world areas, most of the scholarly attention had been paid to particular countries: the Soviet Union in East European studies, India in South Asia, Indonesia and Thailand in Southeast Asia, Egypt in the Middle East, Mexico and Brazil in Latin America. Moreover, the hospitality of particular disciplines to language and area studies had varied immensely. Language and literature studies, history, anthropology, and political science produced many specialists; sociology, economics, psychology, the performing and visual arts, and all the professional and applied disciplines produced very few. Since governmental support was based on the notion of remedying scarcity, the U.S. Office of Education gave priority after the Lambert report to the less commonly studied countries, languages, and disciplines in the allocation of training fellowships.

Following this more pinpointed notion of scarcity, Barber and Ilchman's enumerations and projections of the supply of specialists referred specifically to world areas (no attempt was made to deal with intraregional country-specific concentrations) and disciplines. The old imbalances were persisting. On the demand side, Barber and Ilchman introduced some additional refinements. Like Lambert, they stressed replacing stock, but their projections did not presume increases in general demand for college education. By 1979 it had become clear that higher education in the United States was in for a period of contraction. In making their estimates on replacement needs, however, they considered the age and tenure profile of the specialists, pointing out that the average age of current specialists in universities was older than that of the professorate in general and that more specialists were tenured. From this analysis emerged an estimate that the annual production of Ph.D.'s with an international studies specialty was about half what was needed. Hence Barber and Ilchman sustained the notion of a general expansion in the stock. They also introduced the possibility of oversupply: "Some areas of present training seem to be creating a surplus: Latin American anthropology, East Asian history and Latin American history for example." But for other areas, they foresaw the opposite:

> The decade of the 1980s could see certain fields within disciplines face near extinction. If it is accepted that they should be part of the repertoire of International Studies, then the following must be put on the list of academic endangered species: East European and Soviet Economics, Middle East Anthropology and Sociology, African Humanities, Southeast Asian History. ("International Studies," pp. 29–30)

In short, the notion of an unmet need for specialists was being tempered by consideration of internal differentiation. Growing up at about the same time was another stream of literature that questioned the general assumptions of national need and scarcity. In part this literature dwelt on the rapid growth in the field and the relative size of the investment of federal government subsidies for this academic discipline as against others. Typical of this literature was Klitgaard's somewhat acerbic questioning of the worthiness of the entire enterprise, and McCaughey's more descriptive account of the history of international studies and its "most favored nation" status.[12] Both questioned the continued investment of governmental resources in international studies in comparison with other specialties.

Much more serious was a challenge to the basic assumption of scarcity. John Pincus of the Rand Corporation conducted a study for the Presidential Commission on Foreign

Languages and International Studies,[13] which shifted the emphasis from the supply of specialists to what might be called effective demand, that is, the likely employment opportunities for specialists who will enter the job market in the near future. The data for the study consisted of a literature search supplemented by 170 interviews with program directors and potential employers in business and government. The late 1970s experienced first "the Ph.D. glut" and then a general recession in which jobs for all college and university graduates became scarce. Pincus reported,

> There was no general market shortage of area and language specialists of the types now predominantly being trained. Business, government, and educational institutions all found large numbers of qualified candidates available for all specialties, except in economics and the professions, fields where job opportunities were good and there was little tradition of language and area training. Therefore, the case for more funding for graduate language and international studies could not be argued on the basis of market demand.

Needless to say, this was not a welcome assessment for the field or for the Presidential Commission that sponsored the study. Pincus describes what he terms the confrontation between advocacy and reality in "Rand Meets the President's Commission: The Life Cycle of a Non-Event," a biting article that, the merits of the argument aside, should make interesting reading for any student of language-needs research.[14]

After this translation of presumed scarcity into an examination of effective demand, the Rand Corporation was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education to conduct a searching evaluation of the NDEA Title VI (now transformed into Higher Education Act Title VI) program. The Rand researchers accepted the existence of low effective demand for language and area specialists in general and added the analysis of the internal distribution of specialists. Following John Pincus' comment on the employability of economists and people in the applied and professional disciplines, they argued that future training of specialists should be aimed at those skills. In short, they adopted the notion of relative scarcity, arguing that there was no market for the traditional disciplines represented among the existing stock of specialists and speculating (there was little supporting evidence presented) that an effective demand did exist for people in applied and professional disciplines since such people were scarce and the job market in general was strong for skills in these areas. The Rand Corporation is currently studying the subsequent careers of graduates of the programs, paralleling in some respects the survey in the Lambert report. This new study should help clarify the past market for language and area skills, although projections of future demand will remain speculative.

As noted above, language and area studies specialists were not enthusiastic about the Rand reports. They argued that the lack of effective demand was exaggerated, that the tilt toward applied disciplines underestimated the national need for cultural understanding of other nations, and, most important, that low effective demand was part of the problem. Low demand had resulted in our having no one in Afghanistan who was fluent enough in Pushtu to talk to the Afghans when the Russians invaded, no one in Tehran fluent enough in Farsi to negotiate directly with the student captors when American embassy personnel were held captive. Low demand had resulted in the loss of overseas markets by American businesses. In part as a result of the Rand report, the

National Advisory Council on Foreign Language and International Studies commissioned research aimed at establishing "national targets" for the number of specialists needed in each world area. Blue-ribbon panels of academic, business, and government leaders were asked to estimate national needs for language and area specialists, independent of current demand. In general, each of the world area reports followed the format of the South Asia report.[15]

For the nonacademic market an attempt was made to determine the number of South Asian specialists with varying degrees of language and area competency that should be employed by each of the governmental agencies having dealings with South Asia. A similar reckoning was made for the principal types of American companies doing business in the area. In setting the academic targets, the reports shifted emphasis from the number of Ph.D.'s graduating to "knowledge producers," that is, those scholars who were actually producing publicly available knowledge on countries of South Asia. To inventory such specialists, a list was made of everybody who had, during the previous five years, published an article or a book, presented a paper at a scholarly meeting, or had a research-oriented fellowship dealing with South Asia. The list was then compartmentalized by discipline,and each of these sublists was sent to a panel of a dozen or so leading South Asian scholars in that discipline. They were asked to check the list for obvious omissions, to strike from the list persons who were not in the field or who had dropped out, to indicate which persons they considered genuine experts, and to specify each person's language competencies. Accordingly, three sets of tables were assembled. The most extensive table enumerated knowledge producers not only within each discipline but also within each subfield. For instance, history was divided into different periods and the other disciplines into five to ten subspecialties. The second table listed people judged to be genuine experts by panels of their peers, once again categorized by subdisciplines. The third reflected a cross-sorting of the experts by competency in one or more of the major languages of South Asia.

On the basis of this inventory and personal experience in the field, the panel announced, ex cathedra as it were, what they considered an ideal number of experts competent in each subdiscipline and in each of the languages. Such an additive approach resulted in fairly large totals, and these surveys probably represent the most expansive statements of national need. In practice, the flow will probably be somewhat above the Rand prognostications but considerably below the national targets. But, in any event, the notion of national needs has been radically transformed from the early assumptions of a need for infinite, rapid expansion of the supply to one of a mix of employment market considerations, internal geographic and disciplinary differentiation, and varying levels of language and area expertise.

Before closing this account of language needs surveys in the United States, one or two other streams of literature need to be mentioned. The first focuses not on the overall supply and demand for world area specialists but on the employment needs of specific clienteles. For instance, the U.S. General Accounting Office has conducted two surveys of the various governmental agencies' needs for "language-essential positions." The first gives an agency-by-agency (omitting the intelligence agencies) specification of existing positions and how they are filled. The second examines in more detail the field of Soviet studies.[16] A number of studies have assessed the existing and future needs of business;[17]

most of them conclude somberly that the current employment demand is not very large. There have also been studies of the demand for certain specialties of the field, such as Georgetown University's current survey of the demand for translators and interpreters.

Finally, a stream of literature deals not with the production and employment of language and area specialists but with the deparochialization of the general populace. It is not that language and area studies do not see this issue as part of their mission. Indeed, most of the students in area studies courses are taking one or at most two courses on an area as part of their general education. But the focus of attention and the specification of needs is different. What international studies calls citizen education or the promotion of international understanding is aimed at a much wider audience, much of it outside higher education or even outside education entirely. As in the early days of language and area studies, the situation is viewed as so desperate, the viewpoint of most Americans seen as so parochial, that any increase of activity is considered desirable, and the setting of quantitative targets unnecessary. It is in this vein that the U.S. Congress enacted the International Education Act in 1966 and has written citizen education and international understanding clauses into NDEA VI and into the Higher and the Secondary and Primary Education acts. Public deparochialization was a main goal of the Presidential Commission's Report on Foreign Language and International Studies. Unfortunately, while Congress has passed piece after piece of enabling legislation embodying this purpose, it has yet to appropriate any funds.

A subdivision of this movement is concerned with the low level of language competency of the American public, described in eloquent detail in Paul Simon's book *The Tongue-Tied American.* In an effort to overcome America's devout monolingualism, Congressman Simon has introduced legislation to grant a stipend to each student enrolled in a language course throughout his or her education. The needs assumptions of such a policy are truly staggering.

NOTES

1. M. Oud-de Glas, *Foreign Language Needs: A Survey of Research* (Nijmegen: Institute for Applied Sociology, 1982).

2. Richard D. Lambert, "Language Learning and Language Utilization," *ADFL Bulletin*, 13 (Sept. 1981), 8–13.

3. See annual reports in the *ADFL Bulletin.* These have been summarized in R. I. Brod, "Modern Language Association Survey of College Foreign Language Enrollment, Fall 1970," *Foreign Language Annals*, 5 (1971), 192–96.

4. Richard D. Lambert and Barbara Freed, eds., *Loss of Language Skills* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury, 1982).

5. Paul Simon, *The Tongue-Tied American: Confronting the Foreign Language Crisis* (New York: Continuum, 1980). See also Richard D. Lambert and G. Richard Tucker, "The Role of NIE in Stimulating Innovative Language Learning and Teaching," ms. (1981).

6. For a review of the earlier history of international studies, see Robert McCaughey, "In the Land of the Blind: American Studies in the 1930's," in *New Directions in International Education*, ed. Richard D. Lambert, *Annals*, 449 (May 1980), 1–16.

7. Lorraine M. McDonnell, Sue E. Berryman, and Douglas Scott, *Federal Support for International Studies: The Role of NDEA VI* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corp., May 1981).

8. Richard D. Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*, Monograph 17 (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1973).

9. Robert B. Hall, *Area Studies: With Special Reference to Their Implications for Research in the Social Sciences* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947); Charles Wagley, *Area Research and Training: A Conference Report*, Pamphlet No. 6 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948); Julian N. Steward, *Area Research: Theory and Practice* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950); and Wendell C. Bennett, *Area Studies in American Universities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951).

10. See, e.g., Conference Report, *New Priorities for the Teaching and Learning of East Asian Languages* (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution, 1981).

11. Elinor G. Barber and Warren Ilchman, "International Studies Review," draft, 1979, p. 13. This review is summarized in Elinor G. Barber and Warren Ilchman, "The Preservation of the Cosmopolitan Research University in the United States: The Prospect for the 1980s," *New Directions in International Education*, pp. 56–79.

12. Robert E. Klitgaard, "Why International Studies? A Prologue," paper given at the Conference on Global Issues in Higher Education, Virginia Commonwealth Univ. (June 1980), and "On Reviewing International Studies," ms., Kennedy School of Government, Harvard Univ. (Dec. 1979); Robert A. McCaughey, "The Permanent Revolution: An Assessment of the Current State of International Studies in American Universities," report to the International Division of the Ford Foundation (Spring 1979). It is summarized in McCaughey, "In the Land of the Blind."

13. John Pincus, "Rand Meets the President's Commission: The Life Cycle of a Non-Event," in *New Directions in International Education*, pp. 80–90.

14. Ibid.

15. Richard D. Lambert, "National Targets for South Asia Specialists: A Report to the National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies" (Feb. 1981).

16. Comptroller General of the United States, "A Report to the Congress: Need to Improve Language Training Programs and Assignments for U.S. Government Personnel Overseas" (22 Jan. 1973); Comptroller General of the United States, "A Report to the Congress: Federally Financed Research and Communication on Soviet Affairs: Capabilities and Needs" (2 July 1980).

17. Samuel L. Hayden, "Foreign Languages, International Studies, and Business (A Dubious Savior)," *New Directions in International Education*, pp. 141–50.

14

Language Learning and Language Utilization

More words may have been written, more battles fought, more prophecies of gloom rendered over the sorry state of foreign language learning in the United States than over almost any other educational issue.* Congressman Paul Simon's recent book, which I commend, is perhaps the most eloquent indictment of a monolingual America. I do not want to add yet another nostrum to the pile of solutions to the "language problem." Perhaps Daniel Moynihan was speaking in the wrong domain a few years ago when he recommended benign neglect; it might be more appropriate for our concern with language policy.

For the purpose of our discussion, however, it is useful to classify into two basic components the arguments in the debate on the importance of learning or knowing a foreign language, particularly as that debate affects language requirements in the school and college curriculum. I shall pass over the first component quickly. One set of arguments for requiring students to study a foreign language concerns a set of presumed indirect benefits; that is, valuable consequences of learning a foreign language that do not inhere in the language skill itself. The classic arguments in this domain are:

1. Any educated or cultured person should know another language; a variant on this is that all students should be exposed to the humanities and that foreign language and literature instruction is the heart of the humanities.
2. Learning another language helps students to know the cultural roots of our own civilization, or at least of its high culture. This used to be a major argument for learning Latin and Greek; it is now primarily used on behalf of French and German.
3. Learning another language permits a better understanding of one's own language or of the function of languages in general.
4. Learning a language is difficult and therefore disciplines the mind; this also used to be a predominant argument for Latin and Greek.

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* Reprinted from *Profession 82: Selected Articles from the Bulletins of the Association of Departments of English and the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages* (1982), pp. 47–51. This paper was originally presented at the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages in the ADFL-sponsored session, "Expanding beyond Our Own Departments: Foreign Language and Area/International Studies in the Undergraduate Curriculum," New York, May 1, 1981.

5. Learning a language is cosmopolitanizing; it produces transnational empathy; that is, it enables an individual to put himself or herself into the shoes of someone in another culture.
6. Learning another language expands cognitive abilities and the ability to learn in general; this is the most recent, the most diffuse, and the most extensive claim.

There are others, but this short list will suffice. As a former dean of instruction and academic planning in the faculty of arts and sciences at the University of Pennsylvania, I can report what most of you already know. These arguments are not really convincing either to non-language-department colleagues or to students. Where they can, students are—to use one of Ronald Reagan's favorite expressions—voting with their feet by not enrolling in optional language courses. Nor is it clear that the substantive base of these arguments for the indirect benefits of foreign language learning is strong. On most of them, there is almost no empirical evidence. What there is tends to be ambivalent at best and sometimes contrary to these points. For instance, a recent national survey carried out by ETS for the Council on Learning on the international knowledge and attitudes of college students included a set of self-ratings and paper and pencil tests of language competencies of those students. This enabled them to test proposition 5 above, that foreign language learning cosmopolitanizes students. They found no correlation between a knowledge of a foreign language on the one hand and either knowledge of, or positive affect toward, other countries on the other. On proposition 6, the earlier survey evidence on the effect of bilingualism on the development of cognitive skills was that it hindered the capacity to learn; a few more recent studies indicate a positive effect—but the matter is as yet simply indeterminate.

Even if we agree on the goals of general education, there is little evidence that language learning is the most effective way of reaching these goals. On the first proposition, there are other humanities, many of them more intellectually enriching than language learning; on the second, the utility of French or German as highroads into our cultural heritage has long since vanished; on the third, I know of no solid evidence other than many individuals' gut feelings that studying, say, two years of Parisian French does anything for one's skills in English; and on the fourth, calculus, organic chemistry, and physics supply as much scourging of the soul as students need.

I do not want to disarm these arguments entirely, only to suggest that they are decreasingly persuasive and that they have diverted our attention from another class of purposes for foreign language learning: that people should learn foreign languages so that they can use them. From this proposition, it might reasonably follow that only those who have a reasonable expectation of using foreign language skills should be required to acquire them while they are in school. As to who such people are, I will settle for a definition of probable need somewhere midway between the estimations of the language profession and, say, those of the economics or physics departments. I do so with one caveat, however; while I am in favor of as broad a definition of future need as possible, if we try to reinstate such a general requirement as the French and German exams we used to inflict on all Ph.D. candidates, we will hopelessly corrupt the process, just as we did before. Moreover, the argument is no longer persuasive that everyone should acquire a skill as part of a national and personal stockpiling, because who knows who will be required to use it. For one thing, we have absolutely no idea how many adults, or even how many college-educated or professional adults, have any use whatsoever for foreign language skills and, if they do, whether they cannot acquire those skills when the felt need arises as adults rather than trying to dredge up the lessons of their school days. Moreover, as we are discovering in a national study of language attrition that we are now engaged in, no one knows how much or what segments of unused language skills people retain after a prolonged period.

Let me leave aside the question of who should need language competencies—although I would personally urge the study of a second language for students majoring in the soft social sciences; that is, anthropology, history, political science, and even my own ultraparochial discipline of sociology—omitting students of economics and psychology and perhaps adding those training for international business. I will also leave aside a discussion of the dismal state of resources for providing adults with language training when it is needed and confine my comments to those we decide should have some language skill and should acquire it in school or college. The first point that needs to be made is that students cannot be motivated to master a second language so long as the responsibility for that mastery is seen as the sole or even the primary responsibility of the language departments. The disciplinary departments and those princes of the church, the department chairpersons, not only must want their majors to have a genuine language competency but must have faculty members with enough proficiency in at least one foreign language to regularly follow the literature on their discipline in that language. The student is much more likely to do as the faculty does, not as it says the student should do.

Second, it is essential that the student have an opportunity—or perhaps be required—to participate in a course in which the language he or she has studied is either the medium of instruction or the language of some of the assigned readings. Evidence of satisfactory completion of such a course—taught by instructors who themselves have high language competency and are tough-minded enough not to bend the requirements too far—would, in my view, be a good substitute for course requirements or general proficiency examinations in foreign languages. Taking such a course would communicate to the students that a foreign language skill is to be used, and for something other than reading literature. Instead of "ghettoizing" the responsibility for students' language education as the sole concern of the language and literature departments, as we do now, requiring such a course places that responsibility either on the educational philosophy of the institution as a whole—if the goal is to introduce the foreign language requirement into general education—or at least on the affected departments, if the requirement is to be confined to certain majors. Moreover, if instruction aims at actual use instead of just passing tests, real learning goals could be set, and feedback from the disciplinary departments would quickly establish the adequacy of the instruction. Personally, instead of requiring a certain number of language courses, I would allow students to acquire language competence wherever or however they saw fit. But I would make sure students knew that they had to demonstrate a high level of language competence. I might add that this notion of moving the responsibility for language skill to the disciplinary departments is different from what is taking place in some of the more imaginative language departments today—that is, the introduction by the departments themselves of substantive courses, mainly cultural in focus, on the areas in which the language is spoken. These are to be encouraged, but they do not accomplish the purpose we are here addressing.

The notion of an institutional commitment to language learning, reflected in the introduction of substantive courses in selected departments where students are encouraged or required to use their skills, and the use of performance in these courses as a substitute for proficiency exams seem so obvious and simple that one would expect prototypes of such courses to exist in most institutions. In the main, they do not. I examined the course catalogs and inquired by telephone of eight universities representing some geographic spread and different levels of "selectivity" to find courses in the social sciences that even mentioned a foreign language competency as either required or desirable. The accompanying tables present the results of that search and the list of courses we uncovered. I do not believe that any other set of institutions would have improved the picture.

You will see that only thirty-six courses of the thousands offered in these universities mentioned a foreign language competency in the catalog descriptions of social science courses. All but eleven of these courses are at the University of Wisconsin, mainly in the history department. Here, for whatever it is worth, one might note that Wisconsin was one of the first large, humanities-based universities to drop the language requirement for all undergraduates. Among the thirty-six courses, only five, given at the Universities of Wisconsin and Virginia, were at the undergraduate level. Their titles suggest that they fall mainly in history and are advanced graduate seminars. Although I have no figures, I would expect their enrollments to be low. The only programmatic requirement I encountered was at the University of Wisconsin, in their international relations department. Again as an aside, several years ago I did two exercises. Since one would expect international relations departments or majors to be prime users of foreign languages, I took some ten years of dissertations from a leading university's international relations department and examined the footnotes for references to materials in languages

Table 14.1: Sample of Colleges and Universities with Language Requirements in Social Science Courses *

	UCLA	Carleton College	Univ. Miami	Swarthmore	U. Tex. Austin	Univ. Va.	Univ. Wis.	Yale Univ.	Stanford Univ.	Univ. Penn
Anthropology	X		X			X	X		X	X
Economics	X		X	X	X	X	S		X	X
History	R, A		X	X	S, P, Euro.	S, P, G	17 langs. or lang. gps. cited		J	X
Political science	X		X	X	S, P	X	F, R		J	X
Sociology	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X

* A = Armenian; Euro. = a European language; F = French; G = German; J = Japanese; R = Russian; P = Portuguese; S = Spanish; X = Unspecified language requirement.

Table 14.2: Sample of Courses Requiring Language Competence

Level	Institution	Course and Requirements
GS*	Stanford U.	Japanese historical texts
GS	Stanford U.	Advanced Seminar in Japanese Politics: reading knowledge of Japanese required
UG	UCLA	18th–20th C. Social Thought & Movements: background in Russian history, Russian literature, or European social history
G	UCLA	Methods in Armenian Oral History: proficiency in Armenian
GS	U. of Texas	Latin American Politics: some reading knowledge of Spanish & Portuguese desirable
GS	U. of Texas	Latin American History: reading knowledge of Spanish/Portuguese required
GS	U. of Texas	Research Seminar in Latin American History: reading knowledge of Spanish/Portuguese required
GS	U. of Texas	Research Seminar in Modern European History: reading knowledge of modern European language
UG	U. of Va.	Early modern Spain & Portugal: 12 hours of European history or advanced Spanish/Portuguese literature
UG	U. of Va.	Germany & Austria 1740–1918: 6 hours of history, German literature, economics or government
UG	U. of Wis.	Arab Provinces under Ottoman Empire: reading knowledge of French desirable
UG	U. of Wis.	International Relations Program for French Area Studies: requires passing proficiency test
G	U. of Wis.	Latin Paleography: reading knowledge of Latin
GS	U. of Wis.	Medieval History: reading knowledge of Latin, French, German
GS	U. of Wis.	Byzantine History & Civilization: reading knowledge Greek, Latin; competence in French & German assumed
GS	U. of Wis.	Medieval History: reading knowledge Latin, French, Italian or German
GS	U. of Wis.	History of Europe during the Reformation: work with source materials in one language
GS	U. of Wis.	Economics & Social History of Early Modern Europe: reading knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish
GS	U. of Wis.	Central European History: reading knowledge of German
GS	U. of Wis.	Scandinavian History: reading knowledge of Finnish or a Scandinavian language
GS	U. of Wis.	History of Russian Empire, Modern History of Southeast Europe: reading knowledge of Russian or Southeast European language
GS	U. of Wis.	History of the Soviet Union & Modern History of East Central Europe: reading knowledge of Russian, German, or East European language
GS	U. of Wis.	Modern French History: reading knowledge of French
GS	U. of Wis.	Southeast Asian History: seminar for graduate students with background in appropriate Southeast Asian languages
GS	U. of Wis.	Proseminars in Modern East Asian History: enrollment in Chinese or Japanese language courses
GS	U. of Wis.	Traditional & Modern Chinese Intellectual History: reading knowledge of classical Chinese desirable
GS	U. of Wis.	Modern Chinese History: appropriate Chinese language background
GS	U. of Wis.	Modern Japanese History: reading knowledge of elementary Japanese
GS	U. of Wis.	May 4th Movement: reading knowledge of Chinese
GS	U. of Wis.	South Asian History: reading knowledge of relevant South Asian languages
GS	U. of Wis.	Muslim Indian History: reading knowledge of Persian & other relevant South Asian & European languages
GS	U. of Wis.	Proseminar in Latin American History: reading knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese
GS	U. of Wis.	Research Seminar in Colonial Spanish America: reading knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese
GS	U. of Wis.	Brazilian History: reading knowledge of Portuguese
GS	U. of Wis.	Latin American History, National Period: reading knowledge of Spanish
GS	U. of Wis.	Soviet Politics: reading knowledge of Russian

* G = Graduate; GS = Graduate Seminar; UG = Undergraduate.

other than English. The only ones I discovered were in the dissertations of foreign students. My guess is that this phenomenon is general and would extend to all of the social science disciplines. The other exercise was to examine the course syllabi and assigned reading lists in all the history, political science, and international relations courses in a large number of Pennsylvania colleges and universities. Foreign language references were virtually unrepresented.

These data indicate that there is a fair distance to go if the strategy I am suggesting is to succeed. We are almost at ground zero, and this ought to be said again and again to the university and college administrations and to the faculty of the relevant departments. The present situation is, frankly, a disgrace.

What then is to be done? What are the obstacles, and what specific actions need to be taken?

1. The first job is to convince the faculty that a foreign language competence is both useful and attainable. While such a judgment is general, the point must be made more specifically, that is, about the materials in a discipline that are available in certain languages and not available or less satisfactorily available in English. A prolonged campaign to include materials drawn from the literatures of other countries in basic disciplinary textbooks would be an immensely valuable investment. Beyond that, bibliographies covering the basic subfields around which courses are organized would also be extremely helpful. And to get a language department professor and a disciplinary department professor to jointly teach a course would be an even greater coup. The point is that we must influence the existing core of the disciplines, not just create a set of specialized courses on the periphery, like the few we have found. The long-term impact of these specialized courses is particularly likely to be limited when the courses are administratively located in the language departments, not in the disciplines themselves.

2. For the same reasons, it is essential that the language competencies of the faculty be raised. There is nothing like being monolingual oneself to stiffen one's resolve that foreign languages are not important on grounds of principle. We tend to see the students as the targets of the broadening effects of foreign visitors and visits; an institutional policy to encourage foreign travel, tied to language skills for faculty, would have a much greater long-term payoff. In the short run, an effort to identify allies who have usable language skills to start with and finding ways to build upon their existing skill base is a good starting point.

3. We must break out of this cycle of putting almost all of our energy into teaching a large number of students a very small amount of one foreign language. Our language teaching practice is a mile wide and an inch thin; that is, everyone is enrolled in courses for the first year or two of a language. One consequence is that almost no one ever gets to a level of skill where he or she can truly use a language. Surely if we emphasized language use rather than minimum number of courses passed, we could begin to get at least some of our students to a level of competency where they could begin to use the languages they study.

We need to develop materials and teaching strategies aimed at the higher level of language skills. Most of the available texts focus on low levels of skill; after the first two years literature tends to take over. How do we get people from a basic skill up to a level of competence, particularly in speaking and comprehension, where the language is genuinely usable? Clearly, not everyone need be taken to the highest level of skill, but the materials and teaching technologies ought to be there for those who have the need or the desire to develop such competence.

4. As our commercial and political world expands in the coming decades, the traditional obsession of our language teaching with Iberian Spanish, Parisian French, and German becomes less and less defensible. We must expand our language teaching capacity, even at the primary and secondary school levels, to include Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Latin American Spanish, Portuguese, and even some of the scarcer languages. Surely many of the nations with whom the American citizen will have to deal in the next century are not going to be in Western Europe.

There is another reason for expanding our compass to include the less commonly taught languages. Our count in the sample of universities of courses with language prerequisites is probably an underestimation in one important respect. On some of these campuses, courses using foreign language materials are offered not by disciplinary departments but by organized language and area programs, particularly when these programs deal with the non-Western world. These programs have had to tailor language instruction to use, since their students know full well that they cannot satisfactorily study the countries in which they are interested without a language competence. Surely the area studies programs provide both models and allies in the kind of campus campaign I have been recommending. At present, when fulfilling the language requirement almost inevitably means for a student a continuation of high school French or Spanish, language and area studies programs have little or no interest in the role language learning plays in the institution's entire educational philosophy, and that is a pity.

5. While we can argue, as I have just done, for an intrainstitutional usage pattern for foreign languages, in the long run we will not succeed if our concern for language skills stops when students leave school. If we argue that the skill is useful in later life, it behooves us to see whether we can enhance the chances that it will be. This means that we must give some attention, both in our original teaching and later, to the patterns and speed of attrition in language skills and to learning how to reinforce and restore skills. It seems to me irresponsible to argue that students need to achieve a high level of competence in a foreign language if we are fairly sure that five or ten years later little or none of it will remain. And while I have been arguing here for an on-campus philosophy of use-oriented language learning, the point at which such language learning is most likely to occur is in adults long after they are out of school. It further seems irresponsible for language teachers, concentrating almost exclusively on high school students and on freshmen and sophomores in college, to have no contribution to make to the needs of adults.

Part II
International Studies

15

International Education and International Competency in the United States

Americans frequently tell themselves, and are told by others, that we are a parochial lot, ignorant of world geography, people, and events.* This self-definition of parochialism is reinforced with great regularity by the periodic release of the results of public opinion surveys showing that a large proportion of the population is ignorant of some international fact. Typical of such exposés is the reporting of the results of a Gallup survey of 10,820 eighteen- to twenty-five-year-olds in ten countries for the National Geographic Society in the spring of 1988.[1] The survey found:

> Despite heavy U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf . . . 75 percent of adult Americans surveyed could not find the Gulf. . . . most put it in the Red Sea, Mediterranean, Black Sea, or Indian Ocean.
>
> No more than half of adult Americans know that the Sandinistas and Contras are fighting in Nicaragua.
>
> Only 55 percent could identify South Africa as the country where apartheid is official government policy.
>
> About one-third could name four of the 16 NATO member nations, and another third could not name any.
>
> Fewer than half know that most U.S. immigrants today come from Mexico and Central America.

The National Geographic survey found Americans not only absolutely but comparatively ignorant: "Overall, the United States ranked below Sweden, West Germany, Japan, France, and Canada, on a par with the United Kingdom. Only Italy and Mexico scored lower."[2]

These gloomy findings, echoed by many other surveys,[3] have motivated our educational system to try to overcome our national parochialism by developing a set of supplemental educational ventures that go under the general rubric of "international education." However, the overarching goal of international education is not just the repair of perceived American deficiencies in knowledge about other parts of the world, but the creation of a special nonparochial perspective variously called "global awareness," a "global perspective," or, more recently, a "global competence." This sea change, however vaguely described, comprises a salubrious personal growth that is many-faceted but unidimensional, cumulative, irreversible, recognizable, and measurable. Above all, it is subject to creation and nurture through the educational process.

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* Reprinted from *European Journal of Education* (Paris), November 1993.

While the product is somehow viewed as unitary, in the practice of international studies there are a number of relatively independent segments, each with its one special rationale, personnel, and ways of proceeding. These component segments are generally thought to be study abroad, substantive instruction about other societies and cultures, foreign language education, the training of international affairs specialists to carry out internationally focused tasks, and the education of foreign students. What follows is a discussion primarily of the first three of these segments, those that seem most germane to the creation a general global competence. At the end I will touch lightly on the training of specialists. Foreign students are a subject I have dealt with extensively elsewhere.[4] A fourfold classification of objectives appears in varying degrees in each of the components of international studies: the acquisition of factual information or knowledge; cognitive style, particularly the development of empathy; attitudinal change, particularly the development of favorableness; and the ability to perform specific internationally focused tasks. Each segment of international studies will be discussed in terms of its emphasis on each of these objectives.

STUDY ABROAD

In many countries the term *international education* refers to students traveling abroad for study. In the United States the center of gravity of international education is domestic, looking outward, and the approach is essentially didactic rather than experiential. Nonetheless, while only a small minority of students have the opportunity to study abroad, the basic rationale and content of international education in the United States can be examined most readily in the context of study abroad.

What are the presumed goals of study abroad, and how do they impinge on orientation for and the management of programs?

Goals

From the American perspective, while study abroad results in the accumulation of a good deal of new information, its principal contribution is to the second and third categories of goals: the development of empathy and of favorable attitudes toward the host country. Crauford Goodwin and Michael Nacht stated it clearly:

> The justification for the largest number of study abroad programs today is that any exposure to a foreign environment during one's formal education is better than none. Students will be faced overseas with "difference." The defenders of this goal speak especially of a personal metamorphosis in those who partake—a gestalt change that varies with the individual, cannot be predicted in detail, but is enormously important as an outcome. Students in this way become, it is said, more mature, sophisticated, hungry for knowledge, culturally aware, and sensitive. They learn by questioning their own prejudices and all national stereotypes. They ask the meaning of national culture. Their horizons are extended and they gain new perspective.[5]

In recent years there has been a widespread interest in reifying and perhaps measuring the notion of a global competence and specifying more precisely the contribution of student exchanges to the development of that competence.[6] Among exchange professionals, what is meant by *global competence* can be gathered from a term used by Carol Saltzman in describing the pre- and post-study-abroad orientation program at the University of California at Los Angeles.[7] She refers to "150 percent persons." These are individuals who "understand" (empathy), "find value in, and have positive sentiments toward" (favorableness) "both cultures. Such people are effective in interactions with people of both cultures" (effective task performance). Other authors refer to such people as "multicultural men," "mediating persons," and those havi[illegible] 'intercultural competence." While Saltzman uses "150 percent" as a descriptor of a kind of person, as her article makes clear she really views 150 percent as the end product of a process, stressing "the additive nature of biculturalism." The process she has in mind is one that underlies almost all of American thinking about study abroad, indeed of international education in general. It is essentially a stage or transformation theory by which an individual progresses from *ethnocentrism*, defined as "assuming that the world-view of one's own culture is central to all reality,"[8] to *ethnorelativism*. Since I will use the latter term to refer to one of the general goals of international education, it is useful to examine it a little more closely. Bennett defines it as follows: "Fundamental to ethnorelativism is the assumption that cultures can only be understood relative to one another. There is no absolute standard of 'rightness' or 'goodness' that can be applied to cultural behavior. Cultural difference is neither good nor bad, it is just different. One's own culture is not any more central to reality than any other culture, although it may be preferable to a particular individual or group."[9]

Along the personal pilgrimage from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, a number of mechanisms and way stations are typically identified. Toward the ethnocentric pole, the individual may deal with cultural differences through denial, defense, and minimization of differences. Progress toward ethnorelativism is marked by acceptance, adaptation, and integration. There are numerous other stage theories, each with its own nomenclature. For instance, Gerhardt Winter speaks of a stage of ecological orientation, of social orientation, of emotional orientation, and of personal orientation.[10] Characterizing the different stages in this transformation are U curves, W curves, and J curves describing the adjustment stages that individual sojourners are supposed to pass through. There is heavy emphasis on changed cognitive styles and attitudes; the emphasis on the acquisition of information is relatively light. Also lightly touched on are questions about whether progression to ethnorelativism makes one more effective in accomplishing particular tasks abroad. Are the students who take greatest advantage of classroom instruction, or who advance most in language learning, or who complete assigned academic tasks those who have made this transformation most successfully?

If there is a task to be accomplished by participants in exchanges, it is the general one of adapting to cultural contrast. Lack of progress through the transformation process is seen as a particular pathology—culture shock. Hence, almost all study-abroad orientation courses and midsojourn counseling programs seek to provide individuals with a set of mechanisms for forestalling or recovering from culture shock.[11] And even the student's reentry into the home culture is conceptualized by study-abroad practitioners as a retracing of the stages and the culture-shock problems encountered in living abroad.

The overwhelming emphasis on characterological growth as evidenced in most early evaluation studies concentrated on self-reported psychological changes.[12] More recently, however, exchange evaluation surveys, particularly those that are European in origin or have a strong European component, have begun to focus on issues relating to the academic adjustment rather than just social and psychological adjustment.[13] For instance, some of the periodic surveys of participants in Erasmus exchanges indicate that students may develop an attitude of dislike rather than favorableness toward their host societies, and that academic benefit can occur independently of attitudinal and characterological change. And as internship programs and other task-oriented contexts for study abroad increase, the goals of study abroad may become a little more complex and the measurements of successful outcomes a little more differentiated.

There is, however, still relatively little assessment in the United States of what students going abroad under the numerous and expanding internships and other practically oriented programs actually accomplish during their foreign sojourn. Currently, more than 80 percent of American undergraduate students going abroad for study enroll in courses in just six academic disciplines—anthropology, the arts, history, literature, political science, and sociology.[14] Students in the scientific disciplines tend not to go abroad, but as some of the applied and professional disciplines, particularly business and engineering, make deliberate attempts to internationalize their training, they are establishing an increasing number of overseas programs. Such disciplines tend to be much more task-oriented in their general educational philosophies, and the models of characterological change are much less appropriate.

Preparation for Study Abroad

Most organized exchange programs in the United States provide special orientation for participants, both at home and upon arrival in the host country. It is instructive to examine the content of that orientation to determine what the expected process and outcome of international mobility is supposed to accomplish. Burn, Cerych, and Smith describe three types of orientation programs:

> Most prevalent are the various means of academic preparation which are given formally or informally, as "individualized advice" to study abroad participants and/or through written materials which include reading lists and syllabi for courses to be taken abroad. A second form of preparation consists of initiation—through group meetings or on an individual level—into the extra-curricular aspects of life abroad. Students are given an overview of the social customs, geography, forms of government, education, etc. of the future host country. Particularly in the programmes at American sending institutions, this orientation to the wider setting outside the academic community of the host country often includes elements of training in cross-cultural behavior and interactions as well. Third, in cases where study abroad demands a certain proficiency in a foreign language, the students frequently undergo one or more forms of foreign language preparation.[15]

Leaving aside for the moment foreign language training, American orientation programs and materials give substantial emphasis to the second of these. The materials provided to participants by one of the largest American educational exchange organizations, the Council on International Educational Exchange, put heavy emphasis on descriptive information about the country to be visited (history, governmental organization, geography, religion, politics, ethnology, etc.) and on information relevant to the management of daily life (customs regulations, postal and banking facilities, housing, health, tourist facilities, food habits, holidays, politeness styles, etc.); in addition, there is a generic paragraph in the materials on each country on strategies to minimize culture shock. Some university-based orientation programs put greater emphasis on a description of the foreign university system into which the student is going. For instance, the University of Pennsylvania's program for students going to King's College in London includes information on the general characteristics of the British university system (admissions, degrees); features of student life (work rhythms, teaching methods, course loads, reading assignments, assessment); some specific features of King's College (the campus, departments, library); and accommodations. In keeping with the general emphasis on universal psychological processes in study abroad, culture shock is a general phenomenon, not one differentiated by country or situation.

The theoretical literature on orientation reflects the American concern for psychological change as the principal outcome of the exchange experience.[16] It is the production of the ethnorelative person that is the most important goal, and study abroad is one means of reaching that goal. Task-related orientation is sometimes given to students going abroad in enclaved programs carried out by or with the participation of a home institution's own faculty. For others any orientation to a foreign educational setting tends to be very general and of only modest help to the student coming as a stranger into an unfamiliar institutional setting. Guidance is rarely given as to how to succeed or even survive within that environment. Except for similar subject courses taken at home, students are rarely helped to prepare for or to master the specific educational program in which they are engaged.

Such almost total discontinuity between domestic and overseas education is acceptable for learning in one of the horizontal disciplines, primarily the arts and the social sciences where carefully sequenced and telescoped learning is not so dominant. In many of the sciences, however, subject matters are carefully staged, so that a discontinuity in learning content may be quite costly. The embedding of study-abroad courses in the educational career of students, to the extent that it is planned, is the responsibility of particular academic departments in the home institutions. Most international programs offices that provide orientation for study abroad are separated from academic affairs, both administratively and functionally. The problems students have in relating what they have studied abroad to their subsequent academic careers after they return home are proverbial. The careful articulation and the forward and backward planning that would make such discontinuities unlikely are rarely carried out. This fact itself is testimony to the dominance of general experiential goals for foreign study rather than carefully structured substantive learning tasks.

The place where a departure from this essentially laissez-faire model might be anticipated is in the sciences and the applied and professional disciplines, where most education is to some extent task-related. In some universities there is a deliberate attempt to make the overseas experience maximally relevant to the discipline. For instance, one American university actually uses an institution in England as a halfway house in preparing its graduate students majoring in science and technology to serve in internships in Germany. The need both for extensive preparation and for articulation is especially great when students are sent to non-Western countries, particularly Japan. A consortium of ten of the leading engineering schools in the United States trains students for overseas experience in Japan. A leading American university specializing in engineering and technology places students in university and company-based research laboratories in Japan. An examination of the orientation programs, both in the United States and in Japan, indicates the same instructional mix of descriptive information on the country itself and information useful for daily coping. Indeed, the principal program providing American science and engineering students with experience in working in university and company-based research libraries in Japan provides little task-specific orientation. They use the Fulbright general information booklet to introduce their students to Japan but spend an hour a day of the students' time while in Japan on language instruction.

Language Instruction

The one difference in the science-oriented programs, particularly those that operate in countries like Japan where English is not widely spoken, is a heavy emphasis on the development of language skills—Burns, Cerych, and Smith's third type of orientation. The place of foreign language skills in study abroad in the American setting is a troubled one. Learning a foreign language is one of the principal reasons for going abroad. About 70 percent of the students who go abroad go to non-English-speaking countries. Yet few of these students have sufficient foreign language competency to function easily in a non-English setting in those countries. Hence, many students have to concentrate specifically on language skill acquisition rather than substantive learning. Indeed, many students use their foreign sojourn to complete very low-level language requirements on their home campuses. To quote a recent study: "A very substantial portion of our study abroad programs is devoted to foreign language training. Out of the courses for which students in our [national] sample received credit, 25 percent were skill-oriented language courses, and 19 percent were literature courses. In addition to those who enroll in credit-bearing foreign language courses, almost all study abroad programs, no matter what they are called, are or should be language learning programs."[17] Jolene Koester's 1985 questionnaire survey of seventy-five hundred students applying for International Student Identity Cards for use during study abroad reinforces the centrality of foreign language learning in exchanges:

> The traditional recruiting ground for U.S. sponsored study abroad programs has been the foreign language classroom. And certainly this study bears out the crucial importance of those major fields for program participants. That 17 percent of students in the U.S. are foreign language majors is indeed significant. It is equally important to recognize that these majors contribute 17 percent of those who enroll directly in a

> foreign educational institution and 16 percent of those who arrange to do independent study abroad.
>
> For those students in U.S. programs, 18 percent selected language courses as their most significant source of influence. And 22 percent of this group went abroad with the most important personal goal of improving their foreign language competence. The primary concern of 28 percent of these students is language, underscoring the recognition of the critical role of language facility in understanding another culture.
>
> Another aspect of the theme of language is the degree to which students participating in virtually all types of international activities express sentiments emphasizing language. When asked to indicate their primary concern, at least 20 percent of the respondents in all types of programs, except voluntary and paid work, selected language. Again a recognition of the importance of language is apparent among students.[18]

In spite of the recognized importance of foreign language competence for study abroad, for want of adequate language preparation untold numbers of students spend their time at overseas universities enrolled in English-speaking enclaves. The American foreign language instructional system trains too few students to a high enough level for them to be fully absorbed into the normal operations of many universities overseas, and the cocoon of English can be stretched only so far.

In view of the great and increasing importance of language study abroad, it is startling that we know so very little about what happens to American students enrolled in such programs. We do not know when is the best time to send students, what kind of students can profit most from language study abroad, how much and what kinds of language learning they should have before they go, how best to manage the mix of informal and extra-classroom learning, and what happens inside the classroom. We do not even know what language gains these students actually make. Moreover, in the case of students who travel abroad to study in a particular discipline, little attention has been paid to ensuring that those selected have adequate language competency to enable them to benefit fully from their overseas language experience. Some of these issues are explored by a careful investigation, currently under way at the National Foreign Language Center, into the formal and informal language-learning behavior of American students studying in the former Soviet Union.[19] Central concern with this issue more generally remains on the national agenda.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION MORE GENERALLY

Most American students, of course, never study abroad; indeed, only about forty-five thousand do so in any given year. Hence, the preparation of students for the future global environment must take place within the borders of the United States. As noted at the outset, the general term applied to such studies is *international education*. Under this rubric there are a number of different activities, more or less loosely tied together by a common battle against what is seen as an immense wall of parochialism.

There is an extensive literature on international studies in the American educational system.[20] At the college and university level, where most of international studies takes place, the most common unit for the delivery of international studies is a course. These courses, which make up an institution's international education curriculum, fall within a number of separate divisions: foreign language instruction; courses, concentrations, and majors specifically oriented to international affairs; the international aspects of disciplinary courses; the training of specialists; research; and information storage and transfer.[21] While all of these subdivisions have as an overarching goal the creation of an international competence, discussion has just begun on what the separate contributions are and how they relate to each other. While all of these subdivisions are important parts of international education, attention in this article can be focused on three aspects: foreign language education, internationally focused courses and concentrations, and the training of advanced specialists, in particular language and area specialists. The general architecture of these segments of international education can be sketched in very quickly.

Foreign Language Instruction

Students' most common exposure to other cultures is in foreign language courses: some 56 percent of all college- and university-level courses are foreign language or literature courses. More than 90 percent of all language course enrollments are in Spanish, French, and German, in that order, although there has been a recent boom in Japanese. Moreover, since for most individuals the eventual goal is not actual adult use, it almost does not matter which languages are studied. Accordingly, recent national surveys of students enrolled in Chinese[22] and Japanese[23] indicate that, as is true of study abroad, students choosing to study non-European languages stress the value of exposure to cultural contrasts as their primary reason for studying languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, or Russian.

Most universities (70 percent) and many baccalaureate colleges (40 percent) require some foreign language education for graduation, usually two years, and usually for only a subset of students. Professional and science students are often not covered. In 80 percent of our universities and colleges it is possible for some students to graduate having received no foreign language instruction at all. A 1989 survey of forty-one colleges and universities showed that a little more than half of the students did take some foreign language courses, but 40 percent of those who took them completed only elementary-level courses, and another 40 percent intermediate-level.[24] Relatively few progress to the third year or higher. There is in fact a kind of law of attrition in place whereby half of the students enrolled at each level will not go on to the next level. Students who do take foreign language courses take, on the average, between one and two language courses while they are in college. A national sample survey of 5,127 bachelor degree recipients showed that only 42 percent of all students had taken any foreign language courses at all, 12 percent had taken from one to four credits, 13 percent had taken five to eight credits, and 16 percent had taken nine or more credits.[25]

The same sort of pattern of foreign language taking is evident at the high school level. Some states, such as New York, require all students to take a foreign language. Most other states do not, and it is mostly the college-bound who do enroll. The same sort of 50 percent attrition by level that is evident in the colleges is characteristic of high school enrollments as well, and the concentration of enrollments in Spanish, French, and German is even greater, although again there has been a modest boom in Japanese. In a few school districts foreign language has been introduced into elementary schools, but the pedagogical and organizational aspects of such instruction are just beginning to be planned at the national level. And articulation of foreign language learning across the various levels, from elementary through middle and high school and into college, is very uncertain. Clearly this is a system whose main function is to give a little bit of language training to a portion of students in one of two or three languages.

It is little wonder that language professionals stress the humanistic value of exposure to some language training rather than progress to high-level skills. The rationale for this takes two forms. One is the ethnorelativist argument that learning a foreign language is an excellent/best/necessary way to gain insight into another culture. The second is the argument that a student cannot truly learn a foreign language without an accompanying knowledge of the culture in which the language is embedded. This argument is currently receiving a great deal of attention, as concerted efforts are under way by the American Association of Teachers of French to specify the various levels of cross-cultural expertise that should accompany the different levels of competency in that language. Two of the principal national testing organizations, the College Board and the Educational Testing Service, are engaged in a joint project called Pacesetter, whose goal is to specify both teaching materials and achievement standards for an ideal mix of language competency and cultural knowledge.[26]

Academic Courses

While foreign language instruction is a significant part of American students' education about other countries, at the college level such instruction tends to be provided in substantive courses offered, and sometimes required, as part of the general-education component of undergraduate education. On most campuses, substantive courses in international studies are surprisingly numerous. A sample of forty-one higher educational institutions offered a total of 10,439 separate internationally focused courses.[27] These courses may be divided into a number of categories: broad-scope courses normally found in the general-education portion of the curriculum that all students are required to take, world-area- or country-specific courses, thematic courses dealing with a particular topic such as world poverty or comparative literature, and international aspects of particular disciplines such as economics or political science. The largest proportion of these courses, 40 percent plus, are concentrated on Western Europe, but Japan is a growing favorite. Only about 18 percent of all students earn any college credits for courses dealing with non-Western culture and society.[28] The majority of specifically internationally focused courses tend to fall into just five groups of disciplines: anthropology/sociology, the arts, economics, history, and political science. While the courses being offered can spread widely throughout the different world areas and disciplines, most students in practice take only one or two courses, and these tend to be focused primarily on classical civilizations, both Western and non-Western, or on the history or literature of particular countries. Internationally focused topical courses, or those dealing with current events, are less well subscribed.

In secondary and primary education, to the extent that there are specific courses dealing with other societies, they concentrate on history, geography, or literature, or they appear in omnibus courses targeted on other cultures or people in general. In the main, however, at the secondary school level, and even more clearly at the primary school level, substantive international education is infused into many social studies or humanistic courses. Sometimes this is a result of deliberate effort, sometimes just a by-product of the modernization of textbooks covering disciplinary topics appropriate to precollegiate education. The early stages of what has become known as multiculturalism were specifically concerned with teaching about foreign cultures and societies as a corrective to the presumed parochialism of American society. In recent years multiculturalism has blended into what is now referred to as diversity training—that is, teaching students about the cultural heritages of domestic ethnic groups and, by extension, other distinctive cultural groups such as blacks, women, and homosexuals seeking to correct perceived discrimination. In so doing, multiculturalism/diversity education has become so politically charged that it contributed to the removal of the commissioner of education for the state of New York, and has become a continuing battleground on many campuses.[29] One reason for the heat generated in this discussion is illustrated by examining this expansion of the goals of international education in terms of the analytic categories used throughout this paper: information, empathy, favorableness, and task-related skills. Opponents of multiculturalism and diversity education suspect that the provision of information about other cultures, while it is expressed in terms of providing information and the development of empathetic understanding, is really aimed at creating favorable attitudes toward particular groups and raising their relative status in the eyes of children and, eventually, the American general public. More egalitarian behavioral patterns are presumed to follow.

This mix of goals is made clear in a quotation from a recent specification of the minimal knowledge and skills required of high school graduates in the state of New York who expect to be admitted into that state's public university system:

> Students should understand the terms diversity, pluralism, and equity, and their application to modern society. For example, in the social context, "diversity" refers to ethnic and cultural differences, and it can also refer to lifestyles and ideological variations as well as diverse groups. "Pluralism" recognizes the existence of different groups (particularly ethnic and cultural) that we should understand and appreciate. "Equity" implies equal opportunity, remedies for historical inequities, and the supports necessary for success.[30]

Goals of International Education

The consideration of diversity education brings us back to a discussion of the goals of international education. At the outset of this article it was argued that the primary motivator for the growth of international education is the widely held belief that there are serious and pervasive gaps in the information most Americans have about the rest of the world. Within international education, the goal of overcoming the information gap is to be supplemented by the development of at least empathy for other cultures and peoples, and perhaps favorable attitudes. This mix of information, empathy, and favorableness as a goal of study abroad is called *ethnorelativism*. Adding in foreign language competencies and interactive coping skills leads to the broader term *international competence*.

To clarify what is meant by this term, two recent attempts to specify more precisely what is included may be helpful. The first comprises an early draft of an attempt in New York State to establish benchmarks indicating the satisfactory progress of students through the state's primary and secondary schools. The draft was written by a committee whose assigned task was the revision of the requirements for languages other than English at the secondary and primary levels. The statement of the final benchmarks to be achieved by the end of secondary education illustrates clearly the mix of information, empathy, favorableness, and interactive skills that global competence implies:

> *Knowledge:* The student demonstrates knowledge of a variety of aspects of the target language culture and can reliably distinguish between idiosyncratic and culturally authentic patterns of behavior.
>
> *Skills:* The student interacts positively in a wide variety of situations with people and/or ideas (e.g. authentic vs. adapted text) from the other culture.
>
> *Attitudes:* The student has the willingness to emulate and adopt some of the relevant behaviors and perspectives of the target culture.[31]

The second example relates to college students. In 1979 *Change Magazine* asked the Educational Testing Service to conduct a major national questionnaire survey to specify just what "global understanding" is and how much of it American college students have.[32] In developing the questionnaire, three different dimensions of overall global awareness were specified: knowledge, attitudes and perceptions, and language. A carefully constructed stratified sample was drawn, one the authors felt confident could be projected to represent all college students. It is instructive to see what categories of information the researchers believed "were necessary to global understanding" and therefore should be part of the knowledge test. As part of a ninety-six-question battery, knowledge questions were asked about international aspects of the environment, food, health, energy, religious issues, arts and culture, the distribution of natural characteristics, relations among states, war and armaments, human rights, racial and ethnic issues, and population. It will be noted that these are not geographically rooted topics but cross-cutting contemporary issues. College seniors got, on the average, about 50 percent of the answers right. Some indication of the grasp of American college students of the information that the survey defined as minimal for global understanding is contained in the frequency of correct responses by subject matter:

> Questions on (1) Health, (2) Distribution of Natural Characteristics, (3) Arts and Culture, and (4) Population elicited the highest levels of performance in that order, while questions on Energy, Relations Among States, and Religious Issues elicited low levels of performance. Historical questions were answered with considerably less success than were questions having current content, and social science content generally proved easier than humanities content. (p. 135)

The authors' general conclusion about the information content of global awareness is summarized as follows: "The data from these . . . questions . . . demonstrate that even those American students who go on to college are surprisingly ignorant of some basic political, cultural, and geographic facts about the world in which we live."

Even more interesting than the data on knowledge are those measuring attitudes and perception. Sixty-four items measuring attitudes were selected from the numerous existing attitudinal scales relating to international affairs. A factor analysis was made of student responses as to whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Four factors emerged, which were labeled chauvinism, world government, cooperation, and war. It is not difficult to guess what attitudes under these rubrics were judged to be desirable. The conclusions, keeping in mind the authors' implicit judgments, are interesting:

> Attitude item responses obtained in the survey do indicate, however, that sizeable proportions of the three student populations have attitudes, feelings, and perceptions that are unenlightened or unproductive from the perspective of global understanding.
>
> The Chauvinism scale responses revealed that chauvinism—excessive patriotism—is a surprisingly popular sentiment.
>
> World Government Scale responses revealed the general popularity of world government, but also showed that about two-thirds of each student group do not favor giving up independence or national autonomy to supranational authority.
>
> War is viewed negatively in general, but exceptions occur to an appreciable extent where conditions that might justify war are specified.
>
> The Cooperation Scale included a set of items dealing with immigration of foreign persons to and foreign domestic investment in the United States. The results indicate an alarmingly exclusionary attitude.
>
> The Concern Scale tapped interest in international developments and other cultures and feelings of empathy and kinship with peoples from other nations and cultures. Generally, about one-third of the students report that they do not have the desired interest or feelings.

It is a bit startling to look back at what were defined fifteen years ago by a national committee of experts as values necessary for global understanding. The major point being made is that in addition to the acquisition of information, the goal of most international studies has an attitudinal and valuational component. What is here described as the concern scale seems close to what was referred to above in the discussion of study abroad as ethnorelativity.

The third part of the study concerned foreign language competency. The major measure of that competency was self-placement along a scale of statements indicating differing degrees of skill in the use of a foreign language. The study's findings reflect the impression of generally low levels of foreign language competency among American students. Among college seniors "the language proficiency results also indicated that although language study is quite widespread, very few students have acquired a working proficiency in a foreign language." Even more troublesome is the finding that prior study of a foreign language or self-rated proficiency levels were not significantly correlated with either the knowledge or the attitudinal components of "global awareness."

THE TRAINING OF SPECIALISTS

In the main, the goals of the international education programs discussed above reflect the notion of the development of a very general overall informational, cognitive, and attitudinal transformation. Particular segments of international education, while they may focus on one subject, country, or language, are presumed to contribute in some fashion to the development of a generalized international competence. This emphasis is not shared in the training of specialists or in the provision of an international competence relevant to specific applied fields or the performance of specific tasks. To illuminate this difference, consider the education of two types of internationally focused specialists: the training of academic international studies specialists, and that of students specializing in international business. Not only is the focus of internationalization narrowed in topical coverage in both training programs, but the two types fall at opposite ends in the taxonomy of international studies goals.

Academic Specialists

The training of advanced specialists in one or another international specialty is heavily weighted toward the information/knowledge end of the taxonomy. Moreover, the domain of that information tends to be rather narrowly defined, focusing on one of a few countries or topics. There are three basic types of training of academic international specialists: language and area studies, international relations, and expertise in a particular topical area or subdiscipline such as international economics, demography, world trade, or art history. While empathy may be a necessary quality for analysis and for successful fieldwork, the principal point of the training and the performance of these specialists is the acquisition and creation of knowledge. Indeed, particularly on the humanistic end of the disciplinary spectrum, the more erudition on the topic or country the specialist possesses, the better. On the social science end, the point is the elegant creation of new knowledge and insights. The long-term trend in the training of academic international specialists is the constant narrowing of the topic or geographical area to which the training or research relates.

Institutionally, the training of language and area specialists is the best organized, in part because of thirty years of federal government funding to centers located on most major university centers that specialize on one or another world area.[33] The training they receive is a mix of a core concentration of courses in the theory and methodology of a particular discipline, a broad multidisciplinary mix of courses dealing with the region or topic, a concentration of courses in one discipline focused on the region or topic, and varying amounts of language education. The balance among these components depends on the specialty being pursued. For instance, students focusing on Asia tend to spend more of their time on the latter two types of training: country-focused and language courses. Students training to be specialists on other world areas, particularly Western Europe, and on international relations tend to be focused on the first two: core discipline courses and a mix of disciplinary courses on their topic. The training of generalist international specialists is most carefully developed in schools of advanced international studies.[34] The training they do receive is somewhat heavier on the discipline side but almost always contains some area studies and language training, plus a specific international specialization.

While it is not a direct goal of the training of academic specialists, the specialists themselves do tend to develop some of the empathy and favorableness of the ethnorelativists. In fact, language and area studies specialists in particular tend to become ambassadors for the countries they are studying and are constantly berating their government's policy and arguing that the perspective of those countries be given a stronger weight in foreign policy making.

International Business Executives

The provision of international training for future business executives is a large and growing field. As in the training of academic specialists, there is little emphasis on the fostering of empathy or favorableness. Unlike the education of academic specialists, however, the goal in the training of future businesspeople is not so much the acquisition of descriptive information about other countries as preparing for the performance of a particular task. International competence is thus seen not as a general trait of ethnorelativism but as the ability to conduct business successfully in an international environment. There is a vast literature on the subject of internationalizing the business school curriculum,[35] and it is an unusual business school in the United States that has not introduced some provision for internationalizing its curriculum.

What is most instructive are the difficulties encountered in implementing such a program. Part of the difficulty is that the existing campus-based international studies programs all tend to lean toward the information, empathy, and favorableness goals, which do not lend themselves well to training for the specific task-oriented needs of business. The formidable task is to bring together the perspectives of three different and traditionally hostile tribal groups that march to very different drummers: the business, liberal arts, and foreign language faculty. I refer to them as tribes to emphasize that they tend to be quite separate, both physically and intellectually, on the campus. They represent very different subcultures with their own definition of purpose, their own notions of what is worth learning, and their own eruditions, and they rarely interdine, let alone intermarry. They differ profoundly in their notions of what is worthwhile teaching and why, how students learn best, what constitutes erudition in the field, and what constitutes excellent student performance. Not many people on the liberal arts side recognize that business studies constitutes a full-fledged discipline with its own style of analysis and a substantive mass of information that students must learn. And the international information presented by most academic disciplines often has little to do with the focus of business studies as a discipline.

The problems in mixing these two perspectives was illustrated in the early experience in the Wharton School's international business major. At the beginning of their training, the students were given an integrated set of three courses on economics, sociology, and political science. At the end of this course sequence, the students were able to grasp and reproduce some of the essence of these disciplines. By the end of training, two years later, the liberal arts perspective had been almost totally displaced. The result of two years' intensive business training brought the students to a clearly defined, coherent, and to them intellectually satisfying way of viewing the world. The thin patina of liberal arts perspective provided in the introductory social science courses, and in a full-scale parallel M.A. program in international studies that the students were required to take, was viewed by the students as fundamentally irrelevant to their future careers. Clearly, the dominant gene in the hybrid, the business perspective, had almost totally overpowered the liberal arts one. Shoehorning language training into this mix, even if students are willing to devote the time to it, is extremely difficult.

Shifting the focus to task-oriented international studies raises another uncomfortable question. Is the campus-based international training provided for future business executives what business corporations want or intend to use? What little data are available on this subject indicate that it is not. Companies rarely go to colleges or universities to provide their employees with international training. Indeed, they rarely even mention, let alone consult, universities as purveyors of such training, even when the required information concerns the countries of the non-Western world on which some of the campus-based area studies programs comprise impressive aggregates of liberal arts expertise. Companies tend to go to proprietary vendors for such training, although they occasionally send their employees to executive seminars on business school campuses, and a few continuing-education divisions provide such courses for executives. International companies certainly do not depend upon what their employees got in their regular college classrooms to fill this need.

The unsuitability of the timing, rhythm, and purpose of most of our campus-based courses is only part of the problem. The more fundamental problem is that the goals of liberal arts international studies training are too different from the projected task-specific needs of business education.

CONCLUSION

The problem of designing an effective mix of liberal arts courses and international business training highlights a most important problem for the future of international education. As international experience becomes more and more task-performing rather than character-building in its objectives, is a new notion of international competence called for? Will our current conception suffice, with its emphasis on information, empathy, and favorableness? Or should the implicit assumption contained in the term *international competence*—that is, that it is a single, uniform trait—be abandoned, and should we speak instead of different international competencies? My own guess is that future needs will require just such a reconceptualization. Indeed, I suspect that in practice, it is already under way.

NOTES

1. See News Release by National Geographic Society, July 27, 1988, pp. 2–3.

2. Ibid., p. 1.

3. See Thomas S. Barrows et. al., *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding* (Princeton, N.J.: Change Magazine Press, 1981); and Robert B. Woyach, *Understanding the Global Arena: A Report on the Ohio State University Global Awareness Survey* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1987).

4. Richard D.Lambert, *Foreign Student Flows and the Internationalization of Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Consortium on Financing Higher Education, 1992).

5. Crauford D. Goodwin and Michael Nacht, *Abroad and Beyond: Partners in American Overseas Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 12.

6. The entire 1993 annual meeting of the Council of International Educational Exchanges will be devoted to this topic, as will be a meeting convened by the Alliance for International Exchange, a newly formed umbrella organization for all of the exchange organizations in the United States.

7. Carol E. Saltzman, "One Hundred and Fifty-Percent Person: Models for Orientating International Students," in *Cross-Cultural Orientation: New Conceptualizations and Applications*, ed. R. Michael Paige (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986), p. 248.

8. See Milton J. Bennett, "Toward Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity," in *Cross-Cultural Orientation*, pp. 27ff.

9. Ibid.

10. Gerhard Winter, "German-American Student Exchange: Adaptation Problems and Opportunities for Personal Growth," in *Cross-Cultural Orientation*, pp. 320–24.

11. All of the packets of orientation material provided by the Council on International Educational Exchange to students bound for study-abroad programs conducted all over the world contain a section advising students how to recognize and overcome this malady.

12. See Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Education, 1989) pp. 23–36.

13. See ibid., pp. 36–41, and Barbara B. Burn, Ladislav Cerych, and Alan Smith, eds., *Study Abroad Programmes* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers), chs. 6 ana 7. All of the evaluations of Erasmus are concerned with issues of adjustment to different academic organization and content as well as personal development.

14. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate*, p. 39.

15. Burn, Cerych, and Smith, *Study Abroad Programmes*, p. 105.

16. See, for instance, Paige, ed., *Cross-Cultural Orientation*.

17. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate*, p. 78.

18. Jolene Koester, *A Profile of the U.S. Student Abroad* (New York: Council for International Educational Exchange, 1985).

19. Ralph B. Ginsberg, *Language Gains during Study Abroad: An Analysis of the ACTR Data Base*, National Foreign Language Center Working Papers (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, 1992); Ralph B. Ginsberg, *Listening Comprehension before and after Study Abroad*, NFLC Working Papers (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, 1992); Richard D. Brecht, Dan Davidson, and Ralph B. Ginsberg, *Predictors of Foreign Language Gain during Study Abroad*, NFLC Occasional Papers (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, June 1993); and Richard D. Brecht and Jennifer Robinson, *Qualitative Analysis of Second Language Acquisition in Study Abroad: A Case Study of the ACTR/NFLC Project*, NFLC Occasional Papers (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, July 1993).

20. For a recent overview, see Richard Lyman, *International Challenges for Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Consortium on Funding of Higher Education, 1992); see also Richard D. Lambert, *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986).

21. For specific details on academic courses offered and taken, see Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate*, ch.4; on the training of specialists and research, see

Richard D. Lambert, *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Universities, 1984).

22. Sarah J. Moore, with A. Ronald Walton and Richard D. Lambert, *Introducing Chinese into High Schools: The Dodge Initiative* (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, 1992).

23. Eleanor H. Jorden with Richard D. Lambert, *Japanese Language Instruction in the United States: Resources, Practice, and Investment Strategy* (Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center, 1991).

24. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate,* p. 64.

25. Clifford Adelman, *Tourists in Our Own Land* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1992), p. 64.

26. See also Myriam Met, "Teaching Language and Culture: A View from the Schools" (paper presented at the Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics, 1992).

27. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate,* p. 5.

28. Adelman, *Tourists in Our Own Land,* p. 69.

29. See Ronald Takai, "Multiculturalism: Battleground or Meeting Ground?" in *Interminority Affairs,* ed. Peter Rose, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1993).

30. *College Expectations: The Report of the SUNY Task Force on College Entry-Level Knowledge and Skills* (Albany: State University of New York, 1992) p. 37.

31. "Draft Report of the Curriculum and Assessment Committee for Languages Other Than English," New York State Education Department, May 1993.

32. Thomas Barrows et. al. *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Change Magazine Press, 1981).

33. Lambert, *Beyond Growth,* contains the most comprehensive review of the training of language and area specialists.

34. For a recent review of their curricula, see Robert F. Goheen, *Education in U.S. Schools of International Affairs* (Princeton: Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 1987).

35. For a survey of practice in business schools in the United States and Europe, see John Thanopoulos, with Joseph W. Leonard, *International Business Curricula: A Global Survey* (Cleveland, Ohio: Academy of International Business, 1986).

16

Foreign Student Flows and the Internationalization of Higher Education

There is a voluminous literature on international exchanges.* This paper will emphasize two aspects: the general impact of foreign student flows on the internationalization of campuses, and the scale and composition of future flows. The contribution to internationalization will be discussed at the very end of the paper. I take as given the many eloquent statements about the contributions of student exchanges to the well-being of the nation, indeed the world. It is difficult to imagine a world in which the hidden threads of student exchanges do not provide a durable fabric of amity that survives even the most rancorous of international disputes. And this is an area in which the United States is a recognized world leader. Moreover, even beyond the less tangible benefits of increased understanding, the United States has come to realize that even financially, the import of foreign students is a major asset on our international balance sheet. Charles Karelis, the director of the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education, recently prepared for the White House an assessment of the economic advantage to the United States. He estimated that foreign students brought to the United States $3.351 billion.[1] The University of Iowa alone estimated that foreign students contributed $4 million annually to the local economy.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The statistical analyses of current and past flows depend heavily on the annual censuses of foreign students reported in the Institute of International Education's *Open Doors*, on the more detailed analysis in the companion *Profiles* volumes, on the College Board's *Foreign Student Supplements* to its annual *College Handbook*, and on the National Research Council's annual report on *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities*. The aggregate statistical data have been supplemented by detailed institution-specific information provided separately by Brigham Young University, Cornell University, the California university system, the State University of California at Long Beach, the University of Iowa, the University of Massachusetts, Texas A&M, and the University of Pennsylvania.

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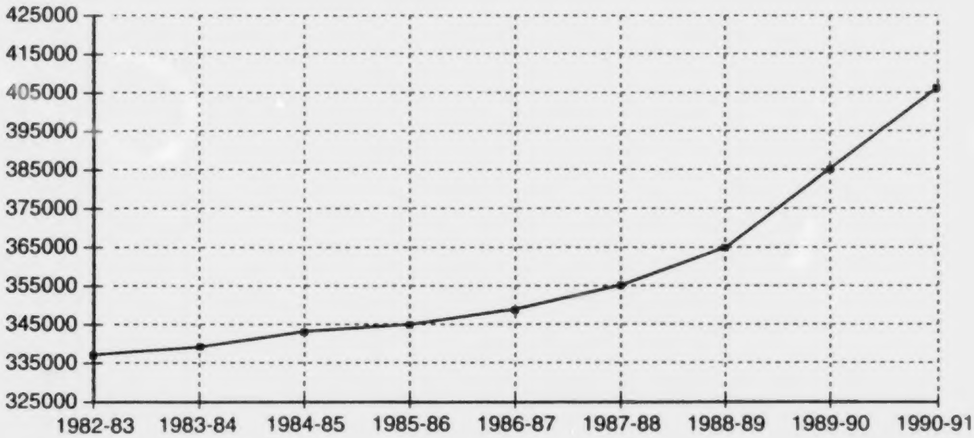
* Based on a paper presented at the conference on "International Challenges for American Higher Education," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., October 4–5, 1992, and published by the Consortium on Financing Higher Education, Washington, D.C., 1992.

To develop an informed perspective on the future, interviews were conducted with many practitioners in the field, including both those who dealt with overall trends in the flow of foreign students and those concerned with particular aspects of that flow. For instance, interviews were held on campuses with university and college presidents, provosts, international studies administrators, department chairs, alumni and development offices; at the national level, with representatives of exchange organizations such as the Institute of International Education, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs–Association of International Educators, and the National Council on Educational Exchange; with representatives of United States government agencies involved in the exchange process—the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (which administers the Fulbright program), the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (which administers the linkages with the exchange programs of the European Community), the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Agency, and the National Science Foundation; and with several private organizations that assist in the overseas recruitment of students on behalf of colleges and students. In Europe, interviews have been held with administrators of intra-community exchange programs—ERASMUS, COMETT, and TEMPUS—at their Brussels headquarters; and with European university administrators, professors, and a few students from Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

AGGREGATE FLOWS

Overall numbers of foreign students. In 1990–91 the Institute of International Education (IIE) census reported 407,529 foreign students registered in American colleges and universi-

Chart 16.1: Foreign Student Enrollment in the United States, 1982–83 to 1990–91



Source: Data from various editions of *Open Doors*, published by the Institute of International Education.

ties. This represented an increase of 667 percent from the 53,107 students reported in 1960–61. The increase in numbers has been somewhat uneven across the intervening years, in some years slowing to an increase of barely 1 percent. There was an explosive growth of 172 percent between 1960 and 1970, and of 125 percent between 1970 and 1980, but only 25 percent between 1980 and 1990. Current growth is at the rate of 5 percent annually, and the rate of overall increase is currently climbing again.

Chart 16.1, drawn on the basis of various editions of IIE's *Open Doors*, indicates the trends in foreign student enrollments over the past decade.[2] Two things should be noted from this chart. First, the number of foreign students on American campuses has grown steadily over the past decades, and second, that increase has been more rapid than the growth in the total number of students enrolled in higher education generally. Hence, the proportion of foreign students in all higher education institutions has gone from 1.4 percent of students in 1960–61 to 2.9 percent in 1990–91. Please note, however, that while the number of foreign students is increasing at a growing rate, and their proportion among all students is expanding, they still represent only a very small proportion of the total student body in all of American higher education. As will be seen, however, their representation in several important sub-sections of higher education is much more substantial.

Will this overall level of influx of foreign students continue? Simple extrapolation will not provide the answer. Such extrapolation was attempted a decade ago in a national stocktaking review of foreign student flows.[3] Table 16.1 shows what seemed at the time to be a reasonable prediction. Had that projection been accurate, there would now be over a million foreign students in the United States, and they would comprise more than 7 percent of all college and university students.

Prophesy concerning the scale of foreign student flows is a most hazardous enterprise. There are fewer cloudier crystal balls than those looking into the future course of international exchange. Foreign student flows operate in a complex, highly differentiated market in which most of the decisions are made overseas and on grounds not readily

Table 16.1: Total Enrollments and Foreign Student Enrollments in U.S. Higher Education, 1979–80, with Projected Proportions, 1980–81 to 1988–89

	Estimated Total Enrollment	Estimated Foreign Enrollment	
Academic Year	In Thousands	In Thousands	Percentage
1979–80	11,569	286	2.5
1980–81	11,940	324	2.7
1981–82	11,831	367	3.1
1982–83	11,722	415	3.5
1983–84	11,613	470	4.0
1984–85	11,492	532	4.6
1985–86	11,358	602	5.3
1986–87	11,215	681	6.1
1987–88	11,104	771	6.9
1988–89	11,048	804	7.2

Source: Committee on Foreign Students and Institutional Policy, *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1982), p. 56.

affected by institutional behavior in the United States. Hence, it is not surprising that past attempts at prognosis as to both numbers and sources of foreign students have been flawed by the need to extrapolate from the trends of the time. Who could predict the sea changes resulting from a revolution in the case of Iran; OPEC oil revenues in the case of the Middle East, Venezuela, and Nigeria; the economic surge of Japan and the other "tigers" of Asia; or the damage done to traditional Commonwealth student flows to Britain resulting from the Thatcher administration's sudden introduction of discriminatory pricing for foreign students?

In addition to betting on the continuation of past country-specific sending patterns, in the 1970's and 1980's many shared the general belief that growing college and university commitment to campus-wide internationalization would lead to the recruitment of larger and larger complements of international students. The former prediction turned out to be incorrect: the complement of sending countries has undergone radical shifts. As will be noted below, the United States has been blessed by a succession of events whereby a new source country for foreign students has developed as older sources declined. When OPEC countries faded as sources of foreign student recruitment, Asian countries made up the deficit.

The second prediction of continued expansion in the drive to internationalize campuses has been more accurate, although institutions and external funders are less and less willing to invest in such efforts. Moreover, the goal of cosmopolitanizing the campus has been reinforced by the need on many campuses for increases in the number of foreign students to help reach minimal enrollment goals. Hence, pressures to expand the number of foreign students has resulted in more and more aggressive overseas recruitment campaigns.[4]

In the 1960's and 1970's a number of institutions anticipated a general decline in enrollments, particularly at the undergraduate level, and developed active recruitment campaigns. These campaigns involved the continuous effort of alumni clubs and other in-country institutional representatives. In addition, some institutions and organizations used more occasional strategies such as advertisements in local newspapers and magazines; and in the major cities of Asia, college fairs, where prospective students can meet with representatives of colleges and universities, are held each year. An increasingly common practice is the dispatch of admissions officers on group recruitment tours arranged by private broker organizations. Interviews with broker organization representatives indicate that the trend is toward more and more prestigious institutions participating in their recruiting programs.

Some of these efforts, particularly in the heyday of the Iranian student flows, displayed in an extreme form the exuberance and unbridled entrepreneurship that some American educational enterprises are capable of. In the immediate past, much of this entrepreneurial energy has been centered in Japan, and much of it through negotiated institution-to-institution linkages. An IIE survey counted 99 separate American initiatives seeking to establish partnership arrangements with Japanese universities and even cities.[5] A similar "feeding frenzy" of American educational institutions is in progress in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Some of these forms of recruitment have been quite imaginative. For instance, split-site arrangements where students rotate between overseas and American institutions are quite interesting examples of foreign student recruitment. The growing practice of establishing overseas clones of the whole or part of an American institution is a device for recruiting foreign students without making them leave home. Similarly, recent Japanese efforts to purchase all or parts of colleges and universities in the United States, a practice similar to ones the Japanese use in their export industry, make it less clear just what study in the United States is.

To police some of the least savory recruitment programs, a formal set of Guidelines for Ethical Recruitment Principles has been developed. While those standards are voluntary, they have been helpful in disciplining the recruitment process. In the main, the more aggressive of the recruiting efforts involve institutions low on the food chain in American higher education or the host of proprietary institutions other than full colleges and universities that enrich our educational system. They are, however, by no means limited to this level. The problems of ethics and quality control that such initiatives introduce are discussed at length in the IIE report on recent experience with Japan. As both countries develop experience with the creation of constructive partnerships, the value of these as recruiting devices will become more evident.

There is another trend within recruitment practices that reflects a similar trend in foreign student admissions more generally. The financial press under which most institutions now operate has made them less willing to subsidize foreign students, particularly at the undergraduate level. Those managing foreign recruitment trips report that more and more institutions are insisting that they are interested only in full-paid applicants—that is, those who can cover the full costs of their education out of their own resources. For this reason, a typical recruitment trip will now go to the places where wealthy families are likely to be able to pay in full for their children's education. The normal Asian circuit includes Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, and perhaps Thailand and Indonesia, and most recruitment trips are now to Asia. Note that it does not include India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, or any of the other developing countries where the "fully paid" market is likely to be weakest.

U.S. position in worldwide student movement. As Maureen Woodall, of the University of London Institute of Education, said in commenting on increases in the flow of foreign students to the United States: "This was a result of changing policies in the sending countries rather than any changes in the US policy toward foreign students."[6] Part of these changes, however, relate to other receiving countries, not just sending countries.

In making predictions about future trends in foreign student enrollments it is well to remember that the United States is not the only major importer of students. There are many other traditional streams of international student migration, particularly the movements of students from former colonies to universities in former colonial countries, which often continue to serve as reference institutions for degrees awarded to students in the former colonies. In addition to these remnants of colonial ties, other countries—for instance, France, the United Kingdom, Costa Rica, India—have traditionally provided either general or specialized higher education for students from other countries in their region. Future student flows to the United States depend in important measure on what happens within this network of traditional educational ties.

Currently, the United States receives only 35 percent of the 1,127,387 students who enroll in higher educational institutions outside of their homeland, but it receives a larger share than any other country. Still, other countries do play a significant role in international exchanges: France receives 13.7 percent of all international students; Germany, 10 percent; the United Kingdom, 6.5 percent; and Canada, 3.1 percent. Moreover, in a substantial number of countries, foreign students comprise a larger proportion of the student body in higher education. Table 16.2 shows that ten countries have a higher representation of foreign students among their university-level students than we do, including almost all of the countries of Northern Europe.

Future American drawing power in the international student market will not only result from the slow drift in traditional patterns, but will be affected by the growth of intra-regional exchange agreements and by the success of very active foreign recruitment campaigns by a few countries, notably Australia, Germany, and Japan. All of these agreements and campaigns, however, are intra-regional rather than worldwide in scope, and will be dealt with in the section below dealing with particular sender regions and countries of the world.

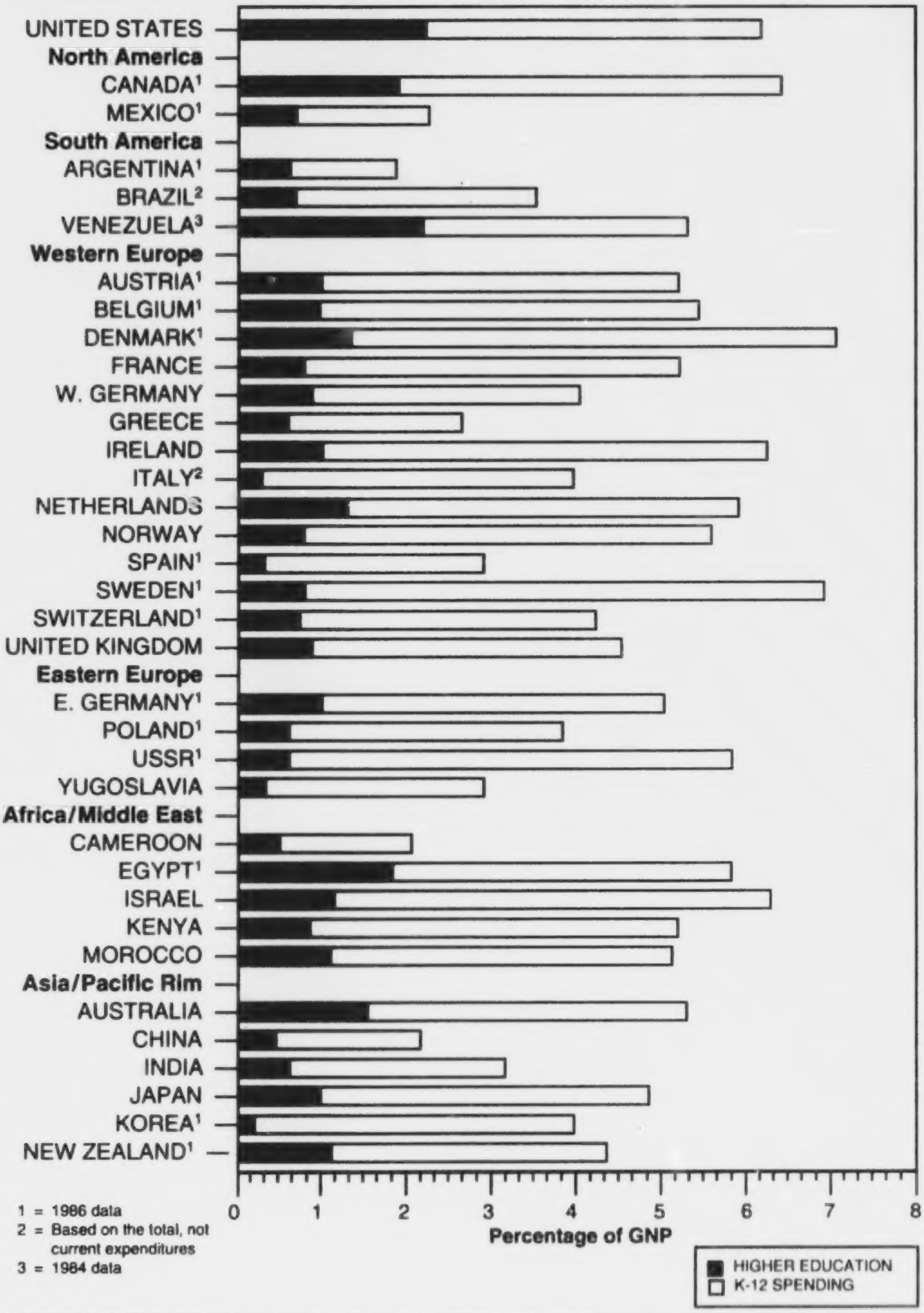
Aside from the influence of developments in other countries and regions, American higher education has a major drawing power on its own. Indeed, the overall consensus of foreign student administrators involved in managing international exchanges is that American higher education will continue to attract the majority of foreign students. One

Table 16.2: Foreign Student and Total Enrollment in Leading Host Countries, 1987

Host Country	Foreign Enrollment	Total Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
United States	356,187	12,808,487	2.8
France	123,928	1,327,771	9.3
U.S.S.R	105,800	5,122,000	2.1
Germany, F.R.	85,749	1,626,334	5.3
United Kingdom	59,220	1,086,092	5.5
Canada	27,119	1,277,624	2.1
Belgium	22,555	254,329	8.9
Italy	22,781	1,277,809	1.9
Japan	17,641	2,510,169	0.7
Australia (1985)	16,075	393,734	4.1
Saudi Arabia (1986)	17,971	130,924	13.7
Switzerland	13,925	121,693	11.4
Germany, D.R.	10,351	437,919	2.4
Syria (1986)	12,309	182,933	6.7
Egypt	10,729	875,033	1.2
Vatican City	9,882	9,882	100.0
Sweden (1985)	10,401	184,324	5.6
Netherlands	8,351	413,488	2.0
Turkey	8,233	534,459	1.5
Yugoslavia	6,787	348,068	1.9
Philippines	4,680	1,627,000	0.3
Kuwait	5,152	25,521	20.2
Czechoslovakia	4,803	170,550	2.8
Cuba	4,143	265,225	1.6
Denmark	4,534	122,256	3.7
China	4,408	2,064,910	0.2

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1990, Table 3.14.

Chart 16.2: Education Spending as a Percentage of GNP, 1985



1 = 1986 data
2 = Based on the total, not current expenditures
3 = 1984 data

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1989, Tables 4.1 and 4.3.

reason for this is that the United States has developed an immensely attractive higher education system by investing in it more heavily than most other nations. As Chart 16.2 shows, some other countries spend a higher percentage of their GNP on education as a whole: the United States spends 6.2 percent of its GNP on education, surpassed by Sweden (6.9 percent), Canada (6.5 percent), Morocco (6.4 percent), Ireland (6.3 percent), and Israel (6.3 percent). However, in most countries, the bulk of the educational expenditures are devoted to K through 12 education.[7] As seen in Table 16.3, only Venezuela (43.4 percent) spends a higher proportion of its education funds on higher education than the United States (39.4 percent).

Expenditures tell only part of the story. The elaboration of a higher educational system is, in part, a reflection of the proportion of the public that enrolls in higher education. Chart 16.3 shows for various countries the proportion of the population that enrolls in higher education. Only Canada approaches the United States in the proportion of the total population enrolled in higher education.

The United States' comparatively high investments, the existence of many institutions of different types and levels, the maintenance of a high quality level in most parts of the system, and the tradition of relatively open access to many of these institutions—these features give American higher education a significant advantage in the international foreign student marketplace. In few other countries are offerings quite so diverse and is access so open as in the United States.

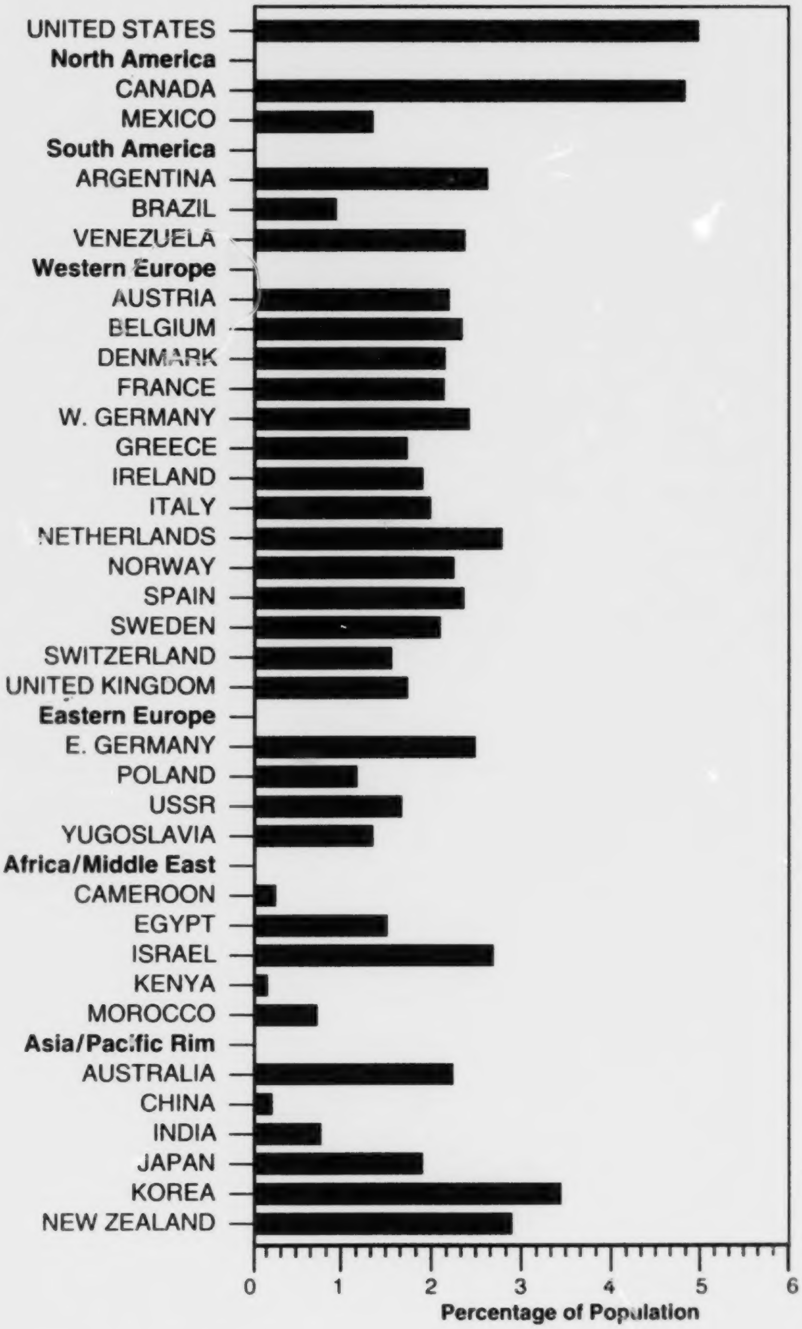
The appeal of American higher education is based upon more qualitative features as well. Our system is more open, more dispersed, more differentiated; the quality gradient remains high throughout the ranks of the system; and a substantial network of student recruiting facilities abroad as well as foreign student services has been constructed on almost every campus in the United States. In addition, the increased tide of foreign students, particularly those coming from Asian countries, coincided with the major flowering of graduate education in the United States. And one of the almost unique advantages of higher education in the United States is the disarticulation of graduate

Table 16.3: Higher Education Spending as a Percentage of All Education Spending, 1985

North America		Greece	20.1	**Asia/Pacific Rim**	
United States	39.4	Ireland	17.7	Australia	30.5
Canada	28.8	Italy	10.1	China	21.8
Mexico	31.8	Netherlands	26.4	India	18.7
South America		Norway	13.5	Japan	21.4
Argentina	30.8	Spain	14.0	Korea	10.3
Brazil	19.6	Sweden	12.3	New Zealand	27.4
Venezuela	43.4	Switzerland	18.9		
Western Europe		United Kingdom	19.8	**Middle East/Africa**	
Austria	18.8	**Eastern Europe**		Cameroon	22.3
Belgium	17.8	East Germany	22.4	Egypt	32.7
Denmark	20.7	Poland	18.1	Israel	20.4
France	12.6	U.S.S.R.	12.6	Kenya	12.4
West Germany	20.8	Yugoslavia	15.3	Morocco	18.9

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1989, Table 4.3.

Chart 16.3: Higher Education Enrollments as a Percentage of Total Population, 1986



Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1989, Tables 3.1 and 1.1.

school from baccalaureate education. It is possible here—in many institutions, required—that students not attend the same institution for both undergraduate and graduate education. Moreover, not to be underestimated is the status of English as a world language, giving us an incomparable advantage over countries where instruction is in other languages.

There are, however, some downsides. Horror stories on the quality of life of foreign students have been given prominent space in newspapers around the world, particularly in Japan. The excesses of some recruiting efforts of American institutions, and particularly of for-pay brokers in both the United States and Japan,[8] have dampened enthusiasm. Some educators worry that the United States may be losing its unquestioned scientific, technological, and business superiority, and that the implicit value of American degrees to students once they return home will diminish. Little evidence has been found that there have as yet been substantial diminutions in flows as a result of these factors.

INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Foreign students are widely dispersed throughout the higher educational system, but, as might be expected, campuses differ in both the absolute number of foreign students on their campuses and in the proportion of foreign students as part of their total enrollment. Very few American colleges and universities have no foreign students at all. There is some bunching of students from particular countries in particular parts of the United States—East Asians tend to go to the West Coast and the Northeast, Latin Americans to the South and Southwest, Scandinavian students to Wisconsin and Minnesota—and American students' preference for "highly selective" institutions is repeated among foreign students. The dispersion of those students across our educational spectrum is remarkable. In 1990–91 the top ten institutions, in terms of the number of foreign students, enrolled only 8.8 percent of all the foreign students in the country, and the top twenty had 14.6 percent. And the share of the top institutions in the student flow is decreasing, not increasing. In 1984–85 21.4 percent of the students were registered in the ten leading institutions and 27.4 percent in the top twenty. This does represent some concentration, but less than might be expected. Some of the institutional dispersion of foreign students results from deliberate policy. For instance, the Malaysian government specifically set out to disperse its students more widely among American universities after establishing a single beachhead at Southern Illinois University–Carbondale. By and large, however, the widespread dispersion of foreign students is an interesting tribute to the operation of a highly differentiated market system in foreign student flows to the United States.

Campuses, of course, differ considerably in the number of foreign students they enroll. Table 16.4 lists the institutions with the greatest numbers of foreign students for a selected number of years going back to 1954–55. What is notable is the change over the years in the top-ranking institutions. In the mid-1950's, the private research universities were heavily represented among the top ten. In recent years, this dominance of the privates has declined. Currently, in terms of absolute numbers, except for Columbia, Boston, and Pennsylvania, it is primarily the large state universities that have the most foreign students.

Table 16.4: Institutions with the Most Foreign Students, Selected Years, 1954–55 to 1990–91

Institution	Foreign Students	Institution	Foreign Students
1954–55		**1959–60**	
Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	1,254	New York University	1,580
New York University	946	Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	1,146
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	810	University of California, Berkeley	1,140
University of California, Berkeley	798	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	1,109
Harvard University	721	University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	1,010
University of Illinois, Urbana and Chicago	594	University of Illinois, Urbana and Chicago	935
University of Southern California	569	University of Wisconsin-Madison	790
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	530	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	770
Cornell University	488	Cornell University	751
University of Wisconsin-Madison	477	Harvard University	738
1964–65		**1969–70**	
New York University	2,986	New York University	4,182
University of California, Berkeley	2,588	Miami-Date Community College	3,998
Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	2,353	University of California, Berkeley	2,904
University of Wisconsin-Madison	1,290	Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	2,796
Howard University	1,258	University of California, Los Angeles	2,197
University of Pennsylvania	1,232	University of Wisconsin, Madison	2,117
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	1,181	University of Pennsylvania	1,699
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	1,149	University of Washington	1,663
University of Illinois, Urbana	1,137	University of Illinois, Urbana	1,658
Harvard University	1,054	University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	1,624
1974–75		**1979–80**	
University of Southern California	2,111	University of Southern California	3,305
Howard University	2,066	Los Angeles City College	3,000
Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	1,905	Miami-Dade Community College	2,790
University of Wisconsin-Madison	1,869	Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	2,625
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	1,679	Texas Southern University	2,585
University of California, Berkeley	1,571	University of Texas, Austin	2,354
University of Texas, Austin	1,533	University of Wisconsin, Madison	2,092
Miami-Dade Community College	1,485	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	1,941
New York University	1,474	University of California, Los Angeles	1,907
Harvard University	1,414	University of Washington	1,880
1984–85		**1990–91**	
Miami-Dade Community College	4,316	Miami-Dade Community College[a]	5,757
University of Southern California	3,761	University of Southern California	3,886
University of Texas, Austin	3,286	University of Texas, Austin	3,867
University of Wisconsin-Madison	2,901	Boston University	3,633
Columbia Univ., Barnard, & Teachers Coll.	2,773	University of Wisconsin-Madison	3,565
Ohio State University, Main Campus	2,606	University of Pennsylvania	3,122
North Texas State University	2,570	Columbia University[b]	3,077
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	2,565	Ohio State University, Main Campus	3,021
Boston University	2,462	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	2,967
University of Houston-University Park	2,424	University of California, Los Angeles	2,921

Source: Open Doors 1990–91, p. 68.

a. This figure includes 3,539 refugees. Next year, when *Open Doors* data do not include refugees, Miami-Dade's figures will be considerably lower.

b. The figure for Columbia University no longer includes Barnard and Teachers Colleges.

When institutions are compared on the basis of the proportion of foreign students among all students, rather than their absolute numbers, a somewhat similar situation is evident, as seen in Table 16.5. First, it should be noted that while at the national level, the proportion of foreign students among all students is marginal, this is not so on many individual campuses. Among the top foreign student institutions, the percentages now range from 22 percent to 14 percent. Second, the role of private research universities in foreign student flows now becomes more evident. Stanford and Harvard now join the list of the top ten, and more generally it is the Ph.D.-granting universities that have the highest proportions of foreign students.

To get a closer look at institutional differences in the proportion of foreign students, the colleges and universities in the state of New York—omitting specialized institutions such as seminaries or music schools—were subdivided into those that gave Ph.D.'s, those whose highest degree was a bachelor's degree, and community colleges whose highest degree was an associate.[9] In nineteen institutions in the graduate university category, the median proportion of foreign students was 5.9 percent; in 28 baccalaureate institutions, the median proportion was 2.5 percent; and in community colleges, the median proportion was 1.1 percent. The low proportion in community colleges is not surprising, in that many such institutions have a cap on their enrollments and admissions are in considerable demand among American students. Without that cap, the community college

Table 16.5: Institutions with the Highest Foreign Student Proportions, 1990–91

Institution	Foreign Students	Total Enrollment	% of Total Enrollment
New Jersey Institute of Technology, NJ	1,669	7,670	21.8
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MA	2,103	9,628	21.8
Hawaii Pacific University, HI	1,166	5,557	21.0
Columbia University, NY	3,077	19,009	16.2
University of Pennsylvania, PA	3,122	20,130	15.5
Stanford University, CA	2,000	13,441	14.9
Howard University, DC	1,581	11,050	14.3
University of Southern California, CA	3,886	27,465	14.1
George Washington University, DC	2,378	16,820	14.1
Harvard University, MA	2,409	17,250	14.0
Texas Southern University, TX	1,313	9,441	13.9
Tufts University, MA	1,034	7,707	13.4
Boston University, MA	3,633	28,001	13.0
Case Western Reserve University, OH	1,102	8,557	12.8
University of Rochester, NY	1,076	8,377	12.8
City University of New York, City College, NY	1,598	12,443	12.8
University of Miami, FL	1,665	13,904	12.0
American University, DC	1,404	11,764	11.9
Cornell University, NY	2,178	18,743	11.6
University of Chicago, IL	1,268	11,098	11.4

Source: College Board, *College Handbook, 1992* enrollments might be greater. Although a substantial proportion of the foreign students in universities are engaged in what is called "practical training" (13.3 percent of all foreign students at the University of Pennsylvania), a kind of working internship at the end of training, it is the community colleges that provide short-term, non-degree training courses in business subjects or what might be called "blue collar technical" courses, and they attract substantial—and increasing—numbers of foreign students.

The major role that foreign students play becomes more evident when the focus is restricted to leading research universities. Table 16.6 presents the proportion of foreign students in each of the Ivy League institutions, plus M.I.T. It also presents for each institution the percentage increase from 1986 to 1990 in the total number of foreign students, and the annual changes for 1985–86 to 1986–87 and 1989–90 to 1990–91.

Except for Dartmouth, with its heavy undergraduate emphasis, the other Ivy League institutions are remarkably similar in their proportion of foreign students, and Dartmouth seems to be bent on catching up. A number of institutions, notably Harvard, seem to have stabilized their growth patterns, while others, such as Pennsylvania, are planning a major expansionary period in the 1990's.

Will this pattern of distribution continue? In truth, no one knows. Since so much of the distribution is the result of individual student choices, before answering this question it would help to have systematic information on why foreign students choose one institution over another. However, there is very little information on what determines the institutional choices of foreign students. That they are dispersed so widely among our colleges and universities, and that that dispersion seems to be increasing over time, is one of the most remarkable features of foreign student flows.

What the institutional distribution of foreign students in the future will be is anyone's guess. For reasons given below, a narrowing of the span and a tilting toward the graduate research universities might be expected. This trend may be offset by the often imaginative search for foreign students by other institutions. Because of this

Table 16.6: Percent Foreign Students and Growth Rates in Ivy League and M.I.T.

Institution	Percentage of Foreign Students[a]	Percent Growth[b] 1986 to 1990	1985–86 to 1986–87	1989–90 to 1990–91
Brown	11.8	+11.3	+33.8	-1.7
Columbia	11.6	+8.8	+4.8	+8.0
Cornell	11.6	+14.8	+8.1	+1.9
Dartmouth	5.9	+46.7	+19.3	+12.4
Harvard	11.4	+2.1	+4.8	+7.3
M.I.T.	21.8	+14.5	+ 2.6	+12.6
Pennsylvania	15.5	+31.9	+5.6	+12.4
Princeton	13.1	+20.8	+14.1	+3.9
Yale	11.4	+24.6	+4.5	+7.2

a. Calculated from College Board, *College Handbook: Foreign Student Supplement*, 1992.

b. Calculated from *Open Doors 1986–87* and *1990–91*.

constrained free market system for the recruitment of foreign students, it is difficult to predict what changes might occur in the future. However, it may be instructive to speculate, for a moment, on what changes a major deflation in foreign student flows might produce. The highly rated, high-name-recognition American institutions would probably continue to have more applicants than they could admit, and the trends discussed below toward graduate-level, high-technology education would probably increase the hold of the research universities. However, the amazing web of existing transnational institutional ties, and the cloudy understanding most foreigners have of differences among American institutions, makes it difficult to predict what the profile of foreign student distribution would be. A major increase in the number of foreign students would have an even more incalculable impact on the distribution of students among institutions.

It should be stressed, however, that for most institutions and most students, recruitment is not the issue. The applicant pool is already considerably larger than can be comfortably admitted. Moreover, institutions as a whole tend to control only part of their foreign student intake. While the admissions office normally controls the influx of undergraduate students, the recruitment and admission to graduate schools tends to be the property of the departments or schools, not the central administration. By and large, therefore, the determinants of foreign student flows are dispersed among the many students who choose to come, among the institutions that attract and accept them, and in the circumstances of the countries that send them.

FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION

Increasingly, foreign students come to the United States not for our arts and science disciplines but for training in business, engineering, and the physical sciences, mathematics, and computer science. Together, they comprise more than half (56 percent) of all majors taken by foreign students. If one adds those here to improve their English, it would include more than two-thirds of all students. With the decline of technical assistance training for the least developed countries, training in agriculture is now taken by only 2 percent of foreign students, and only 3 percent of these students come for training in education. Clearly, it is our training in science and technology that attracts foreign students.

Table 16.7 shows that the preference of foreign students for science and technology education is most clear at the graduate level. At the undergraduate level, business training draws the most students. At the graduate level, it is engineering that provides the principal draw. This trend is even more marked at the Ph.D. level. Data from the National Research Council illustrated in Chart 16.4 show that this preference has been of long standing, and is increasing.

The shift to applied degrees is, of course, not found only among foreign students but represents a trend among American students as well. Among foreign students, however, it highlights the dependence of continued foreign student flows on the continued reputation of American universities for excellence in these fields. What worries many observers is that that reputation may be declining.

Table 16.7: Fields of Study of Foreign Students within Academic Level, 1990–91 (percent)

	Academic Level		
Field of Study	Undergraduate	Graduate	Other
Agriculture	0.9	3.5	0.1
Business and management	26.5	14.7	7.2
Education	1.9	4.6	1.1
Engineering	15.3	23.0	5.0
Fine and applied arts	5.5	3.8	3.0
Health sciences	3.8	4.7	2.2
Humanities	2.2	6.2	1.1
Mathematics and computer science	9.1	10.4	2.9
Physical and life sciences	4.6	14.2	1.9
Social sciences	6.5	9.5	1.7
Other	13.0	4.4	4.4
Intensive English language	0.1	1.0	59.7
Undeclared	10.6	0.0	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Open Doors 1990–91, p. 72.

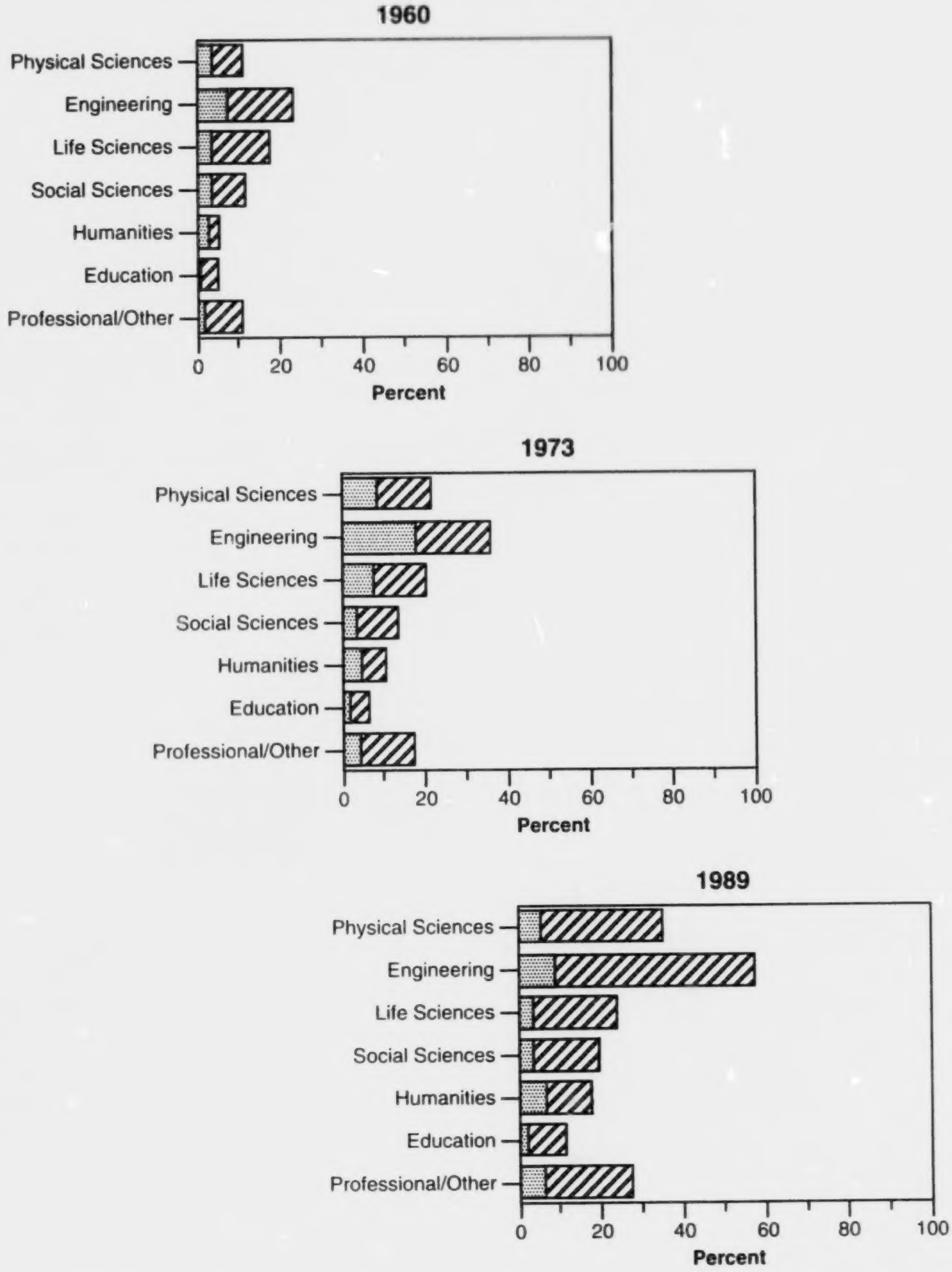
ACADEMIC LEVEL

In speaking of the flows of foreign students to the United States, it is essential that the academic levels in which they study be kept quite separate. Over the past decade, the flow of undergraduates has been relatively stable. The growth has been in the graduate foreign student population. Between 1986–87 and 1989 the total number of undergraduate foreign students climbed by only 0.3 percent, while the number of graduate foreign students, even in this brief period, rose by 26 percent.[10]

Undergraduate foreign students still comprise 55.3 percent of all students—this is down from 64.2 percent in 1986–87—but they tend to represent only a modest proportion of all undergraduate students. Indeed, some institutions place limits on foreign undergraduate enrollments. For many years Michigan State did not admit undergraduates at all. For state institutions, such as those in the California system, enrollment of undergraduate foreign students is controlled as part of the general limitations placed on out-of-state students. For instance, in the California university system in the academic year 1990–91, foreign students comprised only 1.5 percent of all undergraduate students, compared with 2.6 percent from other parts of the United States. Undergraduate study in the California university system is largely an in-state student enterprise, and the political pressures in the state will probably make it more so.

The representation of foreign students differs somewhat by institutional class: the higher level the institution, the larger the proportion of foreign students. For instance, among nineteen Ph.D.-granting universities in the state of New York listed in the College Board *Foreign Student Supplement*, a median 3.5 percent of all undergraduates were foreign students. In the twenty-eight four-year institutions it was 2.5 percent; and in community colleges, only 1.1 percent. Ivy League institutions range in their proportion

Chart 16.4: Non-U.S. Citizens as a Proportion of All Doctorate Recipients in Each Field, 1960, 1973, and 1989



Source: National Research Council, *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities, 1989*, p. 39.

of foreign students from 10.0 percent at Yale to 2.7 percent at Columbia College, with a median of 5.9 percent. Undergraduate foreign students comprise an essentially marginal portion of the undergraduate student body on most campuses.

It is true that some countries and world regions send mainly undergraduate students to study in the United States. Countries that still send predominantly undergraduate students include many of the Caribbean and Central American countries; Southeast Asian countries, except for Singapore; Taiwan and Hong Kong in the Far East; the Sub-Saharan African countries; and Turkey in the Middle East. Asians, in general, tend to be less well represented among undergraduate than graduate students, while the reverse is true of Latin Americans. If there is a general impression to be had, it is that a country will send its students to the United States if it is lacking in prestigious higher education institutions in its own country. Where the in-country higher educational system has strong, prestigious institutions, and where the track from those institutions into high-level employment is well established, students will come too at the graduate, not just the undergraduate, level. In such countries, interviews indicate that neither students nor sponsors find American undergraduate liberal arts education attractive. Indeed, in many such countries, the liberal arts aspects of education are completed in secondary school, and at the university level the student is ready to specialize. Fitting an American liberal arts undergraduate education into an educational career is therefore difficult. Where there is a strong collegiate system in a country, students are likely to take their undergraduate education at home.

What is likely to happen in the future in undergraduate foreign student enrollments? In the long run, as countries develop their own baccalaureate educational systems and develop well-used tracks for funneling the graduates of that system into high-level occupations, the flow of students at the undergraduate level is likely to diminish. Some caution must be exercised in making such a prediction, however. It has been noted that Hong Kong has expanded immensely its indigenous higher education collegiate system, but the number of applications for admission to American institutions for first degrees has risen, not fallen:

> In 1965, there were only 1,000 first-degree places (for only 2 percent of Hong Kong's relevant age group) provided by two universities. . . . In 1990–91 there were five tertiary institutions funded by the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee offering a total of 7,250 first-year, first-degree places for about 8.5 percent of the relevant age group. By 1994 the government plans to double that number to 15,000, providing education for 18 percent of the relevant age group.[11]

In the period July through December 1991, the number of student visas issued by the United States Consulate increased by approximately 10 percent over the same period the previous year.

The hope for further expansion depends upon the emergence into the marketplace of other countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, or Taiwan where indigenous educational resources are meager and there is a sudden need for expanding the educated elite. Such countries, or wealthy families within them, must have the financial resources to send the students to the United States, since 80 percent of foreign undergraduate students are supported by their own or their family's funds, and another 5 percent are supported by their country's government. And more and more institutions tilt their admission process to fully funded foreign students.

As noted above, in recent years the major expansion in foreign student flows has been not in the number of undergraduates, but in foreign graduate students. As a result, the proportion of graduate students among all foreign students has been increasing. In 1984–85, 35.8 percent of foreign students were studying at the graduate level. In 1989–90, this had increased to 44.7 percent. The surge in foreign graduate students is particularly evident in the production of Ph.D.'s. The National Research Council reported, "Between 1960 and 1989 the number of doctorates awarded to non-U.S. citizens increased seven fold, from 1976 to 8195."[12] This immense increase in the number of foreign Ph.D.'s came at a time when the American clientele for Ph.D. study was sharply declining. As Bowen and Rudenstine commented:

> The simply extraordinary increase in the number of foreign recipients of doctorates, particularly in the years since 1980, offset almost exactly the decline in the number of U.S. residents earning doctorates. Thus the apparent stability in the *overall* number of doctorates awarded annually since the early 1980's is highly misleading. The number of doctorates awarded to U.S. residents in all fields continued to decline until at least 1986.[13]

The National Research Council data show that that decline continued into 1989.[14]

The production of Ph.D.'s gives only a partial reflection of graduate education. It omits professional and applied programs, and leaves out all of the students who do not go on to the Ph.D. Adding these students makes it even more evident how important foreign students are to American graduate education today. The proportion of foreign students among all graduate students is striking. At the nineteen Ph.D.-granting universities in New York State, the median proportion of foreign graduate students was 12 percent, more than twice as high as the proportion of foreign undergraduate students. But it is in the elite research universities that the share of foreign enrollees among graduate students is most dramatic. While the nineteen Ph.D.-granting universities in New York State have a median ratio of 0.3 foreign graduate student for each foreign undergraduate student and while California State University at Long Beach has an equivalent ratio of 0.3, the University of California system has a ratio of 2.5 foreign graduate students for each foreign undergraduate, and the University of Pennsylvania has a ratio of 3 foreign graduate students for each foreign undergraduate. The Ivy League institutions taken as a whole show an even greater proportion of graduate students: 4.3 foreign graduate students for every foreign undergraduate student. Table 16.8 indicates the percentage of graduate enrollments that foreign students represent at the Ivy League institutions plus M.I.T. Dartmouth, with its emphasis on undergraduates and liberal arts orientation, is clearly out of scale with the other Ivies, but at Cornell and Princeton almost one-third of the graduate students come from abroad. Foreign students are hardly a marginal portion of the graduate programs of most leading research universities.

Questions about the future flow of foreign graduate students are uppermost in the minds of many university presidents, certainly many department chairs. However, reactions are ambivalent. On the one hand, the current situation places the institution as a cosmopolitan entrepôt in which ideas and people move freely across national bound-

Table 16.8: Percent of Foreign Students among All Graduate Students in Ivy League plus M.I.T.

Institution	Percent Foreign
Brown	22.5
Cornell	29.2
Columbia	17.0
Dartmouth	10.6
Harvard	18.7
M.I.T.	35.0
Pennsylvania	17.9
Princeton	33.5
Yale	20.5

Source: Calculated from College Board, *College Handbook: Foreign Student Supplement, 1992.*

aries. On the other hand, it makes the graduate school establishment uncomfortably dependent upon a source of students that is largely beyond its control. Indeed, as noted earlier, the university as a whole has only a limited role in controlling the flow of foreign graduate students. Academic control in our universities is most fragmented in graduate studies. It is the departments that determine recruitment and admissions of graduate students.

Moreover, graduate departments are the ultimate meritocracies. The dearth of qualified Americans—and, of those who do apply, their relatively low preparation in math and science—is a matter of concern for graduate departments. To best serve the disciplines, particularly the future research stream, professors in graduate departments feel that they *must* admit only the very best students. In the sciences and engineering especially, the best students increasingly turn out to be foreign students.

The most extreme form of this sentiment was expressed in an interview with the chair of the chemistry department at an Ivy League institution who was responding to pressure from his provost to prevent undergraduates from having to cope with a poor command of English among foreign laboratory assistants. His comment was that he would rather have an American student in an undergraduate laboratory course make a foreign laboratory assistant repeat an answer three or four times—but give the right answer—than to have an easily understood American laboratory assistant give a wrong answer. This judgment of Americans seems a little harsh and the willingness to visit incomprehensibility on undergraduates rather startling. The current practice, common in the sciences, of hiring foreign students as T.A.'s and lab assistants in the early years of their training before they can be put on research grants assures that they will be in the classroom at precisely the time when their English language skills are most limited. It is just such views and practices that have led some universities—and in the case of Pennsylvania, the state government—to insist on oral competency examinations in English as a prerequisite for hiring foreign students into classroom employment.

Aside from problems of comprehensibility, the interviewees' views on the different academic merits of American and foreign students are very clear. All interviewees indicated that they would much prefer to have more substantial representation of American graduate students, but their math and science skills were judged to be inferior.

The admission practices of universities in science and engineering have been studied in detail.[15] One feature of that system is worth noting here. Many scientific and engineering departments feel that their reputation and their future ability to draw top-quality students depend on the quality of students they are training now. This is felt particularly strongly in advanced research training where foreign students, who are not usually eligible for American government-sponsored training grants, are supported after their first or second year of training as research assistants and post-doctoral fellows on faculty research projects. The skill of the scientifically educated junior work force is an essential ingredient for successful research by faculty members. This in turn determines the prestige of both the individual faculty member and the department and, completing the circle, is directly related to the quality of the students applying for admission. As the chair of one physical science department put it, "The best students read the international journals in deciding where to study. We are already in a difficult position because of the obsolescence of much of our equipment, to lower the quality of our graduate assistants would be a disaster." In the science and engineering departments, foreign students are important for more than numerical reasons. Both the training and the research capacity of some of our best graduate departments would be in serious jeopardy if the flow of foreign students were to stop.

The current system of support for foreign students in the math, science, and engineering fields is extremely fragile. At the outset it draws heavily—in most universities, considerably more heavily than most disciplines—on the university's own resources. Subsequently it moves into a mix of apprenticeship and research project support. A slight diminution of support for faculty research could have important implications for foreign student flows. In a similar fashion, a trend toward the obsolescence of research equipment could also have a major dampening influence on graduate flows. The uncertainty and lack of control of future foreign student flows give even more urgency to raising the quality of math and science education in the United States and inducing more of the best students to continue on to research careers in these fields.

What the future will bring depends in part on developments in other countries. The appeal of American graduate education is likely to continue for some time. While the equivalent of American undergraduate-level education can be developed relatively readily in other countries, the creation of world-class graduate departments is a more difficult and resource-demanding task. To the extent that an international student flow continues in the future, it is likely to be increasingly at the graduate level, and a great deal of it will come to the United States. If our technological and scientific edge begins to decline—as many think it already has—then the flow may diminish. However, the establishment of training facilities is a little more difficult than quick successes in technological innovations.

A major pressure against the continuation of the present flow of foreign graduate students is largely internal. There are many, both on and off the campus, who view the dependency of our graduate departments on foreign students as tragic. Some critics are concerned not so much about foreign students, but about what the decline in the number of Americans among the high-quality applicant pool portends for the future of the United States. Others are opposed to the foreign student flow itself. One argument is that foreign students represent a constant technology drain, and because of their professional level when they are in the United States, they bring no technological expertise with them.

Universities argue that the technology flows occur in the long term rather during a student's stay at the university. A second argument is that, particularly to the extent that they draw on public or institutional resources, foreign students are usurping benefits that should flow to American students. This has become a political issue in California and as that state goes through the budget-driven, radical downsizing of its higher education system, foreign student enrollments are likely to be early candidates for curtailment. There are strong voices in Congress and state houses that are very concerned with this issue. The response of universities is to admit a larger proportion of American applicants than foreign applicants. The Association of American Universities has just released the results of a major study of thirty-nine institutions showing clearly that this is the case. Sometimes the criticism of foreign student flows comes from American minority groups believing that resources are going to foreign students that should be spent to increase their own participation. A lead story in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, entitled "Foreign Students Said to Get Aid Preference over U.S. Minorities,"[16] quoted a speech by Frank L. Morris, dean of graduate studies and research at Morgan State University, that brought this issue directly to national attention. Answering letters in the national press argued that there was an immense amount of federal money appropriated precisely to support minority graduate education, and the problem was a paucity of qualified applicants. Whatever the merits of these arguments, they place a small cloud over the future of the flow of foreign graduate students to American campuses.

In addition to general arguments challenging the heavy representation of foreign graduate students, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has progressively tightened the visa regulations and the conditions under which foreign students can seek employment. Every new regulation seems to hit the foreign students hardest. Moreover, congressional pressure to tax foreign students has made many individuals and sending countries both nervous and irate.

All in all, it seems fair to say that the flow of foreign graduate students is likely to continue, but there are strong pressures afoot that may curtail or reshape it.

THE ECONOMICS OF FOREIGN STUDENT FLOWS

There is an extensive literature on the financial aspects of foreign student flows.[17] Most of it stresses the importance of income from foreign students' tuitions or the extra money they bring to the community. The general argument is made that since universities have relatively inelastic costs, foreign student tuitions should be considered as marginal income. Some authors even go so far as to argue that universities should be encouraged to charge lower fees to encourage such students to come. On the other hand, some state governments argue that they should be required to pay at least the differential that out-of-state students pay, and possibly closer to the full actual cost of their education. It was, indeed, the institution of such a policy that was so disruptive to foreign student flows to the United Kingdom. Australia's policy of plowing back into foreign student subsidies a portion of past foreign student fees represents an interesting intermediate position.

In view of the increasing importance of finances in campus policy making, it is surprising how few really hard-nosed cost-benefit analyses of foreign student flows on individual campuses are generally available. This is in part because financial data on foreign students are difficult to disentangle from data applying to all students, and in part because some of the necessary information on the university's contribution to support through graduate student fellowships, as well as on the support of foreign students on funded research projects, lies with the individual faculty member or the academic department rather than with the university as a whole.

Here we wish to call attention only to a few selected elements relating to the economics of foreign students. First, most foreign students are paying their own way using their own or their family's money. The proportion of foreign students reporting no outside support has been remarkably constant at about 67 percent for the past five years. No one knows what the price elasticity is for foreign students. While there is evidence of a major shift due to price, government sponsorship for students is shifting to shorter-term stays and, unless there is a special reason, away from "big ticket" universities. Interviews with exchange officials in sending nations indicate that in the newly rich countries of Asia, in Latin American moneyed families, and in some of the foreign government-sponsored programs, American higher education is still a financial bargain. University officials and students in European countries indicate that escalating costs are a problem, particularly in view of the subsidies that ERASMUS and similar programs offer.[18] Moreover, if the current trend in several European countries of turning student support from grants to loans continues, the high cost of American education may become a major factor. Furthermore, if American government plans go forward to tax foreign student income, it is difficult to estimate what effect this will have on student flows.

What does seem to have happened is that American institutions themselves are shifting their recruitment and admission policies to target only fully paying students, those who make no demands on university student support programs. This reinforces one of the trends noted below: the decline in the flow of students from the poor countries of Africa and Asia as well as from the non-elite classes in other developing countries. This is especially troublesome as American government support for technical assistance training programs is severely curtailed.

REGION AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Turning now to the flow of foreign students to American campuses, students come from almost every country of the world. While the number of foreign students coming to the United States has increased steadily over the past four decades, the countries from which the students come have changed radically. We have, in fact, been almost magically blessed. Just when one set of countries has peaked and faded, another set has come along to take its place, as shown in Table 16.9. All regions of the world have seen an increasingly large number of students coming to the United States. It is the share that each country and region provides that has changed over time.

Today, more than one-half (56.4 percent) of the foreign students come from Asian countries, primarily China, Japan, Taiwan, India, and Korea, in that order. In 1954–55 Asia sent only 29.7 percent of the foreign students. Latin America and Canada, which sent 24.7 percent and 13.8 percent in 1954–55, have declined to 11.8 percent and 4.6 percent respectively. In most cases, the regional growth rate has been steady. The

Table 16.9: Foreign Students by World Region of Origin, 1954–55 to 1990–91

	Africa		Asia		Europe		Latin America		Middle East		North America		Oceania		
Year	For. Stu.	% of Total	For. Stu.	% of Total	For. Stu.	% of Total	For. Stu.	% of Total	For. Stu.	% of Total	For.* Stu.	% of Total	For. Stu.	% of Total	Year Total[a]
1954–55	1,234	3.6	10,175	29.7	5,205	15.2	8,446	24.7	4,079	11.9	4,714	13.8	337	1.0	34,232
1955–56	1,231	3.4	11,625	31.9	5,504	15.1	8,474	23.2	4,239	11.6	5,042	13.8	353	0.9	36,494
1956–57	1,424	3.5	13,429	33.0	6,005	14.8	9,110	22.4	4,763	11.9	5,444	13.4	424	1.0	40,666
1957–58	1,515	3.5	14,786	34.1	6,837	15.8	9,212	21.2	5,115	11.8	5,354	12.3	495	1.1	43,391
1958–59	1,735	3.7	16,486	34.9	6,606	14.0	10,249	21.7	5,956	12.6	5,512	11.6	612	1.3	47,245
1959–60	1,959	4.0	17,808	36.7	6,392	13.2	9,428	19.4	6,477	13.4	5,761	11.9	568	1.2	48,486
1960–61	2,831	5.3	19,988	37.6	6,702	12.6	9,626	18.1	7,096	13.4	6,128	11.6	658	1.2	53,107
1961–62	3,930	6.8	22,451	38.7	6,833	11.8	9,915	17.1	7,394	12.7	6,639	11.4	796	1.4	58,086
1962–63	4,996	7.7	24,728	38.2	7,923	12.2	11,021	17.0	7,887	12.2	7,089	11.0	948	1.5	64,705
1963–64	6,144	8.2	27,682	37.0	9,348	12.5	12,882	17.2	8,980	12.0	8,548	11.4	1,080	1.5	74,814
1964–65	6,855	8.4	30,640	37.4	10,108	12.3	13,657	16.6	9,977	12.1	9,338	11.4	1,265	1.5	82,045
1965–66	6,896	8.3	30,371	36.7	10,226	12.4	13,998	16.9	9,895	12.0	9,851	11.9	1,325	1.6	82,709
1966–67	7,170	7.2	34,999	34.9	14,207	14.2	18,182	18.1	11,401	11.4	12,230	12.2	1,635	1.6	100,262
1967–68	6,901	6.3	38,672	35.1	15,556	14.1	21,908	19.9	11,903	10.7	12,236	11.1	1,683	1.5	110,315
1968–69	6,979	5.8	44,212	36.4	16,453	13.6	23,438	19.3	12,338	10.2	12,948	10.7	1,869	1.5	121,362
1969–70	7,607	5.6	51,033	37.8	18,524	13.7	24,991	18.5	13,278	9.9	13,415	9.9	2,077	1.5	134,959
1970–71	8,734	6.0	56,459	39.0	18,306	12.7	29,300	20.2	14,840	10.3	12,732	8.8	1,995	1.4	144,708
1971–72	9,592	6.8	54,276	38.7	16,219	11.6	28,832	20.6	14,651	10.5	10,541	7.5	2,131	1.5	140,126
1972–73	11,465	7.8	56,486	38.7	16,296	11.2	28,383	19.4	16,278	11.1	9,805	6.7	2,107	1.4	146,097
1973–74	12,937	8.6	57,072	37.8	15,539	10.3	30,276	20.0	18,381	12.2	8,883	5.9	2,375	1.6	151,066
1974–75	18,400	11.9	58,460	37.8	13,740	8.9	26,270	17.0	23,910	15.5	8,630	5.6	2,650	1.7	154,580
1975–76	25,290	14.1	64,540	36.0	14,400	8.1	29,820	16.6	32,590	18.2	9,720	5.4	2,740	1.5	179,340
1976–77	25,860	12.7	70,020	34.5	16,700	8.2	37,240	18.4	38,490	18.9	11,420	5.6	3,150	1.6	203,070
1977–78	29,560	12.6	73,760	31.3	19,310	8.2	38,840	16.5	57,210	24.3	12,920	5.5	3,810	1.6	235,510
1978–79	33,990	12.9	76,850	29.1	21,690	8.2	41,120	15.6	70,430	26.6	15,520	5.9	4,150	1.6	263,940
1979–80	36,180	12.6	81,730	28.6	22,570	7.9	42,280	14.8	83,700	29.2	15,570	5.4	4,140	1.4	286,340
1980–81	36,180	12.2	94,640	30.4	25,330	8.1	49,810	16.0	84,710	27.2	14,790	4.7	4,180	1.3	311,880
1981–82	41,660	12.8	106,160	32.5	28,990	8.9	55,360	17.0	74,390	22.8	15,460	4.7	4,000	1.2	326,300
1982–83	42,690	12.7	119,650	35.5	31,570	9.4	56,810	16.9	67,280	19.9	14,570	4.3	4,040	1.2	336,990
1983–84	41,690	12.3	132,270	39.0	31,860	9.4	52,350	15.5	60,660	17.9	15,670	4.6	4,090	1.2	338,890
1984–85	39,520	11.6	143,680	42.0	33,350	9.7	48,560	14.2	56,580	16.5	15,960	4.7	4,190	1.2	342,110
1985–86	39,190	9.9	156,830	45.6	34,310	10.0	45,480	13.2	52,720	15.3	16,030	4.7	4,030	1.2	343,780
1986–87	31,580	9.1	170,700	48.8	36,140	10.3	43,480	12.4	47,000	13.4	16,300	4.7	4,230	1.2	349,610
1987–88	28,450	8.0	180,540	50.7	38,820	10.9	44,550	12.5	43,630	12.2	16,360	4.6	3,620	1.0	356,190
1988–89	26,430	7.2	191,430	52.2	42,770	11.7	45,030	12.3	40,200	11.0	16,730	4.6	3,610	1.0	366,350
1989–90	24,570	6.4	208,110	53.8	46,040	11.9	48,090	12.4	37,330	9.7	18,590	4.8	4,010	1.0	386,850
1990–91	23,800	5.9	229,830	56.4	49,640	12.2	47,580	11.8	33,420	8.1	18,950	4.6	4,230	1.0	407,530

Source: Open Doors, 1990–91, p. 16.

a. Includes students classified as stateless or of unknown origin.

exception is the Middle East, where the oil wealth of OPEC produced a sudden surge of students in the early 1980's, but both the number and proportion of Middle Easterners has been declining since that time. The lesser bulge in the number of African students at that time reflected primarily the oil-rich Nigerians.

Is it likely that the pattern of foreign student exchanges will change and tilt away from the United States? First of all, for many countries expanding the flow of students will be difficult. Most Latin American countries are suffering economic problems, particularly with foreign exchange, keeping many potential migrant students at home. There are several countries actively trying to increase their intake of foreign students.[19] In Europe, France has always been a magnet, both for its former colonies and for students from other European countries. France's preference for recruiting only the upper end of the high technology and the high-quality students, and its current general societal concerns with managing immigrant flows from its former colonies, mean that it is not likely to expand the numbers of foreign students very quickly. In the 1980's the total number of foreign students in France was fairly stable at around 120,000 students. More than half of those students were from Africa. Rising nativist sentiments in France are likely to curtail some of that intake. On the other hand, between 1985 and 1989 there was already a 39 percent increase in students from other European Community countries.

Germany is currently making a special effort to recruit more foreign students, particularly those in high technology and scientific fields. Germany traditionally draws its students from Greece, Austria, Turkey, the United States, Iran, and to a limited extent Korea. Germany also draws heavily from Indonesia as a result of an earlier investment in financial and educational aid to that country. However, Germany is also insisting that its students master English to make them more mobile in the world community. Eastern Europe, where in many places German is the lingua franca, will no doubt loom large in future recruitment. Moreover, Germany is investing heavily in spreading German language competency both abroad and for incoming students wishing to study at German universities.

For years the United Kingdom has been a formidable magnet, particularly drawing in students from the Commonwealth countries. Intra-Commonwealth exchanges dropped sharply in the 1970's and 1980's. The government became alarmed by the cost of supporting an increasing influx of foreign students, including American students, and introduced a double pricing system in which foreign students were required to pay "full costs." This had an immensely depressive effect on foreign student flows. In fact, the United States was an unintended beneficiary of this policy with respect to at least one country, Malaysia; a major upswing in study abroad from that country sent about three thousand students to 541 different American colleges and universities.[20] The outcry in the Commonwealth countries against this double pricing policy was so strong that the government was forced to reinstate a selective fellowship program for some of the least developed of the Commonwealth countries, but a statement made in 1987 by Malcolm Anderson of the University of Edinburgh describes the reaction among advocates of international exchanges:

> In Britain, overseas student policy is at best equivocal, resulting in the small investment of resources and in the absence of clear political direction. Although recent

> developments may give some grounds for cautious optimism, a coherent student strategy, based on a recognition of the importance of cultural diplomacy, remains a long way off.[21]

Since that time, the short-lived deficit has been reversed, perhaps providing evidence on the price elasticity of foreign student flows. The unknown factor in determining the future direction of foreign flows among European countries are the various European community exchange programs. If ERASMUS is fully implemented, 10 percent of the university student body in each European country will spend at least a part of their educational time in another European country. In addition, supplemental programs such as COMETT focus on business, professional, and high-technology flows, while TEMPUS focuses on the countries of what was Eastern Europe. The effect of these programs on the flow of foreign students is still uncertain. The administrators of these programs insist that it should increase, rather than diminish, the number of students coming to the United States. They point out that these programs may encourage overseas studies by students who are not used to venturing out, and that universities will move away from the bilateral exchange agreement formats that these programs entail and encourage them to legitimize study abroad more generally. Already some 20 percent of ERASMUS students travel on their own. In addition, the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education has signed an agreement for a pilot project on the ERASMUS model.

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are likely to be major new sources for recruiting foreign students. However, since neither region has much money, bringing them to the United States for education will require considerable investment of college or university resources or major new support programs by the federal government. Two recent pieces of legislation may provide some of the necessary resources. Senator George Mitchell sponsored a bill that appoints three hundred former Soviet students in economics, business, and law as Benjamin Franklin Scholars and brings them to the United States to study. Senator Bill Bradley's Freedom Education Act has set aside $75 million in the aid budget to bring high school and undergraduate students primarily from the former Soviet republics and the Baltic countries to the United States. There is talk of putting extra money into the Fulbright program specifically earmarked for bringing East Bloc graduate students to the United States.

It is difficult to guess how this will wash out. To date, ERASMUS has worked best for flows into and between countries in Northern Europe, but the impact on foreign student movements to the United States, particularly in science, technology, and business, bears watching. However, European students make up only a small proportion (12 percent) of the foreign students entering the United States. And the immense adjustments required to make the intra-Europe exchange programs work are likely to keep the attention off Asian students, the current mainstay of American foreign student flows.

The two countries that threaten to compete with the United States for Asian students are Australia, which is actively recruiting in Southeast Asia, and Japan, which is recruiting in Asia more generally. In both countries, expansion of the number of foreign students has been given explicit sanction by their governments. Australia has initiated a closely watched strategy whereby all tuition subsidies for foreign students will be reallocated to newly arrived overseas students through an Equity and Merit Scholarship program. However, Australia has a limited capacity to absorb large numbers of foreign students into its universities, and indeed there are some indications of serious problems within that program. Japan's plans for attracting more foreign, particularly Asian, students are heavily funded by a major government foundation, and are ambitious. In 1991 there were forty-five thousand foreign students in Japan; by the end of the decade the government has committed itself to hosting one hundred thousand foreign students. There are, however, a number of restraints on the drawing power of Japan for foreign students, including limitations on available housing, the proficiency in Japanese among potential foreign students, and the inhospitality of Japanese institutions to foreign student needs. Moreover, Japan's collegiate system is reputed to be the weakest link in its educational system, and quality graduate programs are limited. However, given the investment of governmental will and financial resources, it is possible that Japan may well divert some of the flow of Asian students now coming to the United States.

The interesting group of foreign students is the Asian students. They tend to cluster heavily in mathematics, science, engineering, and business, and they make up a very substantial proportion of such students. Table 16.10 indicates the proportion of all foreign students in those disciplines who come from one of several Asian countries in each of the technology, science, and business departments.

Countries and world regions differ considerably in their use of American higher education. By way of contrast, consider several of the principal sending countries and areas. The most numerous group of foreign students enrolled in American universities and colleges are Chinese. Conversely, the large majority (70.8 percent) of Chinese students who study abroad go to the United States. Australia is making a concerted effort to recruit Chinese students as part of its Asian initiative, and currently 14.9 percent of the Chinese studying abroad go to that country. However, the European countries are so absorbed in expanding their exchanges among the countries of Europe that they are

Table 16.10: Proportion of Asian Students among All Foreign Students Majoring in Technology, Science, and Business

	Engineering	Mathematics & Computer Science	Physical & Life Sciences	Business
East Asia	28.9%	26.5%	47.2%	28.4%
China	15.8	10.3	28.0	3.9
Taiwan	9.9	12.3	8.2	6.6
Hong Kong	2.4	3.7	1.6	4.7
Japan	2.0	2.6	2.2	8.9
India	13.2	12.9	8.3	6.0
Pakistan	3.6	2.6	0.9	2.3
Six countries	40.1	46.7	49.2	32.4
All nations	46,605	22,795	22,195	44,830

Source: Marianthi Zikopoulus, ed., *Profiles 1989–1990: Detailed Analyses of the Foreign Student Population* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1991), Table C.1, Field of Study by Country of Origin.

unlikely to recruit many Chinese, or for that matter many Asians other than those in the Commonwealth countries.

Chinese students comprise 9.7 percent of all foreign students in the United States, some 39,600 students in all in 1990–91. However, because of their clustering by institution, by majors, and by section of the country, they appear to be more numerous. In spite of unsettling political events in China, sixty-two hundred more students reached the United States last year, and many members of previous student cohorts have been given refugee status. The continued flow of Chinese students in the face of intense government efforts to restrain them is remarkable. They are exceedingly well organized and have considerable skill in mastering the intricacies of the INS visa and work requirements. The Chinese come to the United States almost exclusively for graduate study (82 percent). About one-fourth of the Chinese undergraduates major in business, but the rest spread out across other disciplines. Chinese graduate students tend to concentrate heavily on the physical sciences (fully 33 percent at the graduate level), engineering (21 percent), especially electrical engineering and math, and computer science (14 percent). Together these disciplines absorb about two-thirds of the Chinese graduate students. It is these students who in many universities sustain physical science and engineering departments, as the number and quality of American applicants drop off. The loss of the Chinese students would be a major blow to American higher education.

Japanese students comprise the second largest and the fastest growing foreign student group. Their pattern of study is somewhat different from that of the Chinese and other foreign students. Business and management continue to be the most popular majors of Japanese students, but the number of students interested in American business training is dropping. Their participation in engineering is also declining. Many Japanese do not think we have much more to impart in these fields. While majors in engineering, math, computer science, and the natural sciences are represented as choices, the proportion of Japanese majoring in engineering (5.1 percent), math (3.2 percent), and physical and life sciences (2.7 percent) is considerably lower than the distribution of the entire foreign student population in these fields (18.0, 9.0, and 8.7 percent respectively). Unlike Chinese, the Japanese students are not prominent in what might be called high science—that is, nuclear physics and the like. The Japanese send an unusually high proportion of women, who see foreign study as almost the only way up for them within the Japanese system. Many Japanese students, particularly women, do not come for full degrees, either graduate or undergraduate. They seek to perfect their English and to acquire a specific skill—all within one year. In many ways the Japanese study-abroad pattern is like our own. They often come for language training and some exposure to the country rather than academic content; they tend to cluster in a relatively few institutions, particularly those that have formal links with a Japanese university; they tend to be totally self-supporting; and while on campus they tend to enclave for mutual support. The change in the exchange rate between the yen and the dollar has made it relatively inexpensive for the Japanese to study in the United States. The future of Japanese-American student exchanges is of great interest to the United States. Indeed, special efforts are being made to link the two-way student flows between the two countries.[22]

A group that is in real jeopardy of disappearing from the foreign student scene is the Africans, with the possible exception of the South Africans, for whom recruiting efforts are currently under way. The number of African students enrolled in the United States has declined in each of the past ten years. Sending students to the United States is a major expense, and, since the United States Agency for International Development (AID) has radically cut its training grants, the numbers have shrunk immensely. They are likely to decline even more sharply in the future. It is a pity that some of the links built with African universities over the past several decades are likely to dry up, both because of what is happening in those institutions themselves and because of the search for fully supported students by American universities.

Experts on Latin America believe that exchanges with that region will remain at about the same level. Latin American students currently comprise about one-eighth of all foreign students. The flow of Latin American students is traditionally sustained by well-to-do families sending their children to America to acquire a degree, and this is likely to continue. Moreover, the politicization of their home universities makes an American campus a more neutral environment. Latin American students are spread throughout the various academic specialties, but they are somewhat less well represented in math and science and are slightly above average in agriculture. If AID support declines, the number of those training in agriculture might drop off. The one area where expansion might be substantial is in Mexico. In conjunction with the negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement linking the United States with Mexico and Canada, there is currently discussion of ways to make it easier for U.S. and Mexican students to enroll in each others' institutions. In addition, if the loan swap arrangements such as those pioneered at Harvard really develop, Latin America could once again be a major recruiting ground.

The traditional sender countries in the Middle East are Iran and Saudi Arabia. Student migration from both countries has declined precipitously since a peak at the height of OPEC's influence, and will probably continue to decline. A substantial flow of Egyptian students continues to come under Egyptian government sponsorship. Indeed, Fulbright sends only post-doctoral students to the United States from that country. Tuition-paying students are here either on their own funds or on those of their government. Increasingly these students are more mature, come for shorter periods of time, and go to moderately priced universities. Israel, with only three thousand students, is hardly a blip on the screen, and given the speed and level of development of the Israeli higher education system, it is unlikely to be a major source of recruitment.

FOREIGN STUDENTS AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CAMPUS

In one sense, foreign students on a campus are de facto a force for internationalization. This is particularly true of research universities, which see as part of their function the education of the scientific and technical elites of the world. If one shifts attention, however, to other aspects of the internationalization of the campus, particularly those that serve to cosmopolitanize the education of American students—foreign language study, study abroad, internationally oriented courses and majors—linkages with foreign student flows become very weak. Foreign students have almost no connection with the most common international courses that most American students take: foreign language courses. While some may serve as native-speaker informants in area studies programs, by and large foreign students speak the wrong languages: most of them come from Asian countries, while most American students are studying Spanish, French, or German. Nor are they well represented as students in international courses and majors. They tend to concentrate in the technical and natural science fields, where internationalization is least relevant, and in large universities, even casual contacts with most American students is quite minimal. Nor is there any substantial link between foreign students and the flow of American students going abroad to study. Again, they come from the wrong countries. Most study-abroad programs take American students to England, France, and Germany, while most foreign students come from Asia, or perhaps Latin America. Moreover, the numbers of American students studying abroad and of foreign students coming to the United States are quite uneven. *Open Doors 1990–91* reported that only 70,727 American college or university students (less than 0.1 percent) were enrolled in formal study programs abroad, while there were 407,529 foreign students (2.9 percent of all students) registered in American institutions of higher education.[23] And finally, most international studies is aimed at undergraduates, while the proportion of foreign students among undergraduates on most campuses is relatively small.

One of the abiding issues in internationalizing a campus is how to make its components more symbiotic and mutually reinforcing. Only modest progress has been made in this direction.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Predicting the future of foreign student flows to the United States requires a careful analysis of a number of different aspects of current aggregate trends. The total number of foreign students has been increasing, but with some substantial changes over time in the rate of increase. Whether it will continue to grow depends on future developments in various separate elements of the flow. Foreign students are spread widely throughout the American higher educational system. Some narrowing of the spread is contemplated. In most institutions foreign students comprise less than 10 percent of all students, but in the Ivies and other research universities they make up a higher percentage of the student body. In part, this is due to a major shift among foreign students toward graduate rather than undergraduate education, and toward science, engineering, and business disciplines as the subjects that they seek to study. The most striking feature of this shift is the heavy dependence of many research-oriented departments in engineering, mathematics, and science on foreign students, particularly those from China and other Asian countries, both for enrollments and for student assistants in faculty research projects. The pattern of support for foreign students in the sciences and engineering—which begins with university grants and fellowships at the outset followed by funding for students as research assistants or post-doctoral fellows on faculty research projects—is a fragile system and may be difficult to sustain in the long run.

Changes in the countries and regions sending foreign students to the United States have been substantial, but the total flow has continued to grow. One country or set of countries seems to emerge to send large numbers of students to the United States as others subside. The student flows from various regions and countries have quite distinct characteristics, and particular international developments may affect future flows from each region.

Finally, foreign student flows intrinsically result in some internationalization of the campus, but there are structural disjunctions between the foreign student presence on the campus and other aspects of international studies—language study, study abroad, courses and concentrations dealing with other countries—concerned with the cosmopolitanization of American students.

At the close we return to the opening comment: the flow of foreign students is of immense value to our society in general and to the individual institutions they attend. It is to be hoped that other countries will continue to send us some of their most gifted students, and that current problems and pressures within the United States will not diminish our ability to provide them with the best education our colleges and universities have to offer.

NOTES

1. Letter from Charles Karelis to Steve Dansansky, February 4, 1992.

2. This chart was prepared by Frederick Lockyear of International Advisory Services for a presentation at the NAFSA-AIE Conference in Chicago, May 23, 1992.

3. Committee on Foreign Students and Institutional Policy, *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1982), p. 56.

4. For an excellent review of the history of recruitment efforts, see Cassandra Pyle, "Changes in the Landscape: Forces Shaping Recruitment in the 1990's" (Boston: NAFSA Field Service Seminar, May 27, 1991).

5. Gail S. Chambers and William K. Cummings, *Profiting from Education* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1990).

6. Maureen Woodall, "Government Policy toward Overseas Students: An International Perspective," in Gareth Williams, Martin Kenyon, and Lynn Williams, eds., *Readings in Overseas Student Policy* (London: Overseas Students Trust, 1987), p. 29.

7. These differences generally hold up on a per capita basis and when corrected for country differences by calculating expenditure per pupil as a multiple of GNP per capita.

8. For a detailed examination of the problems and promises in this situation, see Chambers and Cummings, *Profiting from Education.*

9. The tabulation was done on the basis of the information presented in the College Board's *College Handbook: Foreign Student Supplement, 1992.*

10. These estimates are derived by extrapolating the partial tabulations in *Open Doors* to the full enumerated student body in each of these years.

11. Marsha Lee, IIE advisor in Hong Kong.

12. Delores H. Thurgood and Joanne M. Weinman, *Summary Report 1989: Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities,* National Research Council, Office of Science and Engineering Personnel (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1990).

13. William G. Bowen and Neil L. Rudenstine, *In Pursuit of the Ph.D.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 28.

14. Thurgood and Weinman, *Summary Report 1989,* p. 56.

15. For a detailed analysis of admission and enrollment processes in biochemistry, economics, mathematics, and mechanical engineering, see R. E. Harriott, "Competitive Access to Contemporary American Doctoral Education: A Comparative Analysis of U.S. and non U.S. Citizens in Four Science and Engineering Fields," AAU-AGS Project for Research on Doctoral Education, unpublished manuscript (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 1991). For a report on foreign student attitudes toward engineering education, see Elinor G. Barber, Robert P. Morgan, and William P. Darby, *Choosing Futures: U.S. and Foreign Student Views of Graduate Engineering Education* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1990).

16. Debra E. Blum, "Foreign Students Said to Get Aid Preference Over U.S. Minorities," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 11, 1992, p. 1.

17. See, for instance, *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy* (Washington, DC: Council on Education, 1982), ch. 4; Donald G. Ehrensberg, "The Flow of New Doctorates," *Journal of Economic Literature* 30 (June 1992): 830–75; John Fielden and Hew Dalrymple, "Flexibility in Setting Fees," in Williams, Kenyon, and Williams, eds., *Readings in Overseas Student Policy*, pp. 115–20; and C. D. Throsby, "The Financial Impact of Foreign Student Enrollments," *Higher Education* 21 (April 1991): 351–58.

18. For information on the actual operation of ERASMUS programs, see Ulrich Teichler, "Experiences of Erasmus Students: Select Findings of the 1988–89 Survey," ERASMUS Monographs 13, Werkstattberichte 32 (Kassel, Germany: Gesamthochschule, Kassel Universität, 1991).

19. For a review of the exchange policies of Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Australia, and Canada, see Alice Chandler, *Obligation or Opportunity: Foreign Student Policy in Six Major Receiving Countries* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1989).

20. *Report on Malaysian Students Entering U.S. Educational Institutions—1987* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian-American Commission on Educational Exchange, 1987), p. 3.

21. Malcolm Anderson, "Overseas Students and British Foreign Policy," in Williams, Kenyon, and Williams, *Readings in Overseas Student Policy*, p. 33.

22. Norman J. Peterson and John Skillman, "Shifting the Balance: Increasing U.S. Undergraduates in Japan," Report to Culcon, 1992.

23. *Open Doors 1990–91: Report on International Educational Exchanges* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1991), pp. 84 and 13.

17

History and Future of HEA Title VI

The organizers of this conference have made a major mistake in inviting me to range back over the history of the development of Higher Education Act (HEA) Title VI and to make recommendations for its future course.* In doing so, it is difficult to avoid a highly personalized account because I have somehow been involved in almost every development in Title VI since its inception. Over the past three decades or so, I believe I have not only attended but addressed all but two of the many national conferences on Title VI.

On many of those occasions I presented to the field the results of a survey or a set of recommendations on the reshaping of Title VI. At a meeting in the late 1960s I reported on a major national survey of the general state of affairs in language and area studies I carried out under the aegis of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). The report, *Language and Area Studies Review*, served as a guide for the redirection and expansion of Title VI and made a case for its continuation at a time when government interest was beginning to flag. On another occasion, at a meeting at Georgetown University, I was called on to speak as a rebuttal witness to counteract the damage threatened by some of the findings of two surveys by the Rand Corporation that were less than supportive of continuing Title VI. The same sequence of report writing and public discussion of changes in the act occurred after the Association of American Universities (AAU) sponsored report *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* was published. Some of the findings of that report were incorporated into the recommendations informing congressional reauthorization of Title VI, which were presented by an advisory board established by Congress to advise it and the secretary of education on the administration of Title VI. Those recommendations were discussed at a full-scale conference and in three formal public hearings held in Washington, San Francisco, and Chicago. I shall discuss below the relevance of some of the recommendations of that advisory board report to the current recommendations for change in the reauthorization of Title VI.

My final appearance took place two years ago when the ill-fated *Points of Leverage* proposing the creation of a national foundation for international studies was discussed. And, because I served as the director of the South Asia Center at the University of Pennsylvania for fifteen years, I have a fair idea of the operation of Title VI from the recipient end. In addition, I was a charter member of the pickup team that used to pound the congressional hallways trying to save Title VI when various administrations were recommending its demise. I say all of this to indicate that I am a card-carrying member of your tribe and to remind you of the rich history of substantive debate about the appropriate content and direction of Title VI that is germane to your deliberations today.

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* Reprint of a National Foreign Language Center Position Paper (Washington, D.C.: NFLC, October 1991). This paper was originally presented at the conference on the reauthorization of HEA Title VI convened by the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges at the University of Pittsburgh on March 2, 1990.

I think I can be most helpful by sketching in very broad strokes the various incarnations of Title VI, with special attention to macro issues of focus and coverage, and by commenting on several issues of purpose and strategy that may face Title VI in the immediate future. I hope these will be pertinent to your discussion of reauthorization.

As I look back on the thirty-year history of Title VI, four general themes have received the bulk of public attention: (1) debates largely outside the field on whether to continue federal funding for Title VI at all; (2) a related question about the appropriate level of the funding; (3) a series of reform movements, attempting to redirect or redefine the language and area studies mission of Title VI; and (4) attempts to supplement Title VI by adding non-area-oriented purposes and clienteles. All four of these themes are relevant today.

TO CONTINUE OR NOT?

First, the Hamlet question: to be or not to be? The basic argument for Title VI's growing out of the shock of Sputnik was and still is what I call a scarce-manpower argument: our nation needs more people competent in the less commonly taught languages so that we can follow what is happening in other countries. The nation, it was argued, needed a core of language-competent watchers to guard against unpleasant surprises such as Sputnik, a kind of democratization of the intelligence function. In those days before Vietnam, people were not quite so hostile to the identification with the military dramatized by Title VI's inclusion in the National Defense Education Act. Please note my emphasis on the original focus on language in the act, not a surprising emphasis in view of the fact that representatives of the Modern Language Association (MLA) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) were a main force in getting the legislation through. In those days the language community was protective of the primacy of language in Title VI. In the middle of my SSRC study I received an urgent call from the Office of Education urging me to stop talking about "area and language studies" and always to refer to "language and area studies," because a letter from representatives of the language associations decried the implied change in priorities indicated by my innocent reordering of terms in the title.

Language competencies were always in the forefront of our public presentations. When we marched up the hill and testified before Congressman Daniel Flood's subcommittee, which provided the funding for Title VI, we always argued that without Title VI the nation would not have enough speakers of, say, Cambodian, or later, Farsi, to meet our national need, and we had a catalog of horror stories on what that incapacity had done to damage our national interest. We still use that basic argument for the core activities in the national resource centers and the attendant fellowship programs, although we now talk of economic competitiveness; the term "defense" has been dropped from the title.

Over the years, although students have been required to take language courses as a condition for holding fellowships, the area studies portion of Title VI became dominant, in part, perhaps, because the majority of the national resource center chairs were held by area, not language, specialists. Indeed, the emphasis on area studies allowed the scope of the national resource centers and fellowships to be broadened to include Latin American studies (1960) and West European studies (1973), neither of which was initially included.

This basic argument, the need for language competency, has been subject to several assaults, each of which has threatened the very existence of the program. Let me characterize them briefly because they are still part of the setting for many public discussions of Title VI. One constant danger to the continuation of Title VI is that it is what the federal government calls a categorical program, one that provides funds for narrowly targeted purposes rather than broad formulaic funding for such things as student aid. The administration and Congress have always been unhappy with categorical programs, particularly ones like Title VI that last a long time and have neither a need-based nor a geographic distribution as part of their grant criteria. There are now some seventeen categorical programs in the HEA, most of them for considerably less money than Title VI, and all such programs are always in danger of disappearing.

WHAT LEVEL OF FUNDING?

In addition to administrative unhappiness with long-term categorical programs in general, another argument against Title VI has been that its support of campus programs is marginal at best. The figure usually cited is that Title VI funds meet only 10 percent of the annual costs of a typical center. Many government agencies—the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) among them—believed that Title VI could be discontinued without much loss; the universities would pick up the costs in any event. Over the past several years this claim has been made somewhat less frequently. A further argument is that the very success of the program has overcome the scarcity that gave rise to it, and therefore that continued federal support is unnecessary. This argument, the basis of a General Accounting Office report on Title VI issued some years ago that reached no firm conclusion, is also reflected in a very recent review of the operation of the act by Wayne Riddle of the Congressional Research Service. His argument is that the centers continue to have an important function, but the funding of Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships is outdated. I can think of nothing more damaging to the field in the short run than the withdrawal of fellowships.

An equally threatening argument emerged from two Rand Corporation reviews of the field, particularly the second, which surveyed what FLAS fellowship holders did with their language and area training after graduation. According to the evidence in that report, too many of the beneficiaries of this expensive federally funded program were not really using the language and area studies skills they had acquired in their subsidized graduate training. The program directors argued that the Rand study was ill timed because it was conducted when the academic job market was fully saturated. Nonetheless, the fact that the funding survived this demonstration of low occupational demand was a tribute to the Title VI community's ability to rally to its support.

At times several of us have despaired of saving the entire enterprise. One of the most perilous was when President Richard Nixon tried to override congressional intent to provide funding, in spite of the administration's zero budget request, by sequestering the funds appropriated for Title VI, that is by not spending them even if they were appropriated by Congress. What saved the appropriation was that when Nixon tried the same strategy on veterans' appropriations, the courts invalidated the whole sequestering. Another low point in Title VI history came when the OMB, reacting in part to the recommendations of the Rand reports, directed the Office of Education not to seek any funding for Title VI. Some of my senior colleagues may remember the mad scrambles to create ad hoc lobbying forces to convince Congress not to follow the administration's homicidal intent.

In soliciting support to save Title VI from sudden death, we have had some strange allies and some quite unusual steps have been taken. One of the strangest occurred when Terrel Bell was secretary of education. The OMB had zero budgeted Title VI once again. To save it, the AAU convinced Caspar Weinberger, then secretary of defense, to write an unprecedented letter to Secretary Bell stressing the importance of Title VI while the OMB was directing the department not to seek funding for Title VI. The Department of Defense's intervention played a substantial role in convincing Congress to save our program's appropriation.

Many believe that Title VI has become so firmly established as a semi-entitlement program backed by a large, dispersed and politically active constituency that the demise of the whole program is unlikely. I do not share that sentiment. A great debate about the possibility of Title VI being folded into a possible national foundation for international studies has centered on whether Title VI is in chronic trouble and whether it would be helped or hindered by being grouped with other aspects of international studies. These efforts to save the program as a whole, although often desperate, have been episodic. More frequently the battle has been over the level of funding. In 1991 about $40 million is appropriated for the domestic programs in Title VI and the appropriation for the Fulbright-Hays portion, which primarily provides overseas fellowships for faculty and graduate students, is now at $5.8 million. In 1980 the equivalent figures were $17 million for domestic programs—less than half of the current figure—and $3 million for Fulbright-Hays. The increases in both the domestic and overseas programs, however, have not been steady. Most frequently, Title VI has been level funded. Preventing a cut has often been a struggle, and, except in the past year or two, increases have not kept up with inflation. Moreover, the types and number of programs funded under Title VI have been expanded, so that the funds available to individual grantees have actually shrunk. It is not surprising that the level of funding for Title VI has become almost an annual obsession with some center directors and their university development offices. Each spring when calling the president's office at the University of Pennsylvania for help in Washington, I was greeted with a groan on the other end of the phone and an anguished cry, "Oh, no, not again."

EFFORTS AT REDEFINITION

In addition to threats to the continuation of Title VI and the struggle to maintain an adequate level of funding, two types of reformist activities were always taking place:

tinkering with the basic structure of the language and area studies portion of the program, and adding new functions and clienteles. Let me start with the first.

The language and area studies portion of Title VI has undergone a series of reincarnations as it has been pushed to meet one or another presumed challenge to its existence. The first one I remember was an attempt to shift the emphasis from an exclusive concern with the production of advanced specialists to one of diffusion throughout other layers of the educational system and, outside of the educational system, to the public at large. The result was the requirement that each center devote an annual amount equivalent to at least 15 percent of its Title VI grant to what was called "outreach," which meant dealing with secondary schools, others in the postsecondary education community, the media, and the general public. Outreach came more naturally to state institutions than to privates ones, but it became a condition of the grant for all centers.

The attempt to expand Title VI vertically into other parts of the educational system would probably have gone even further if not for a fortuitous legislative accident. Some of us worked out a deal with the secondary school professionals to include them under the Title VI umbrella in return for their putting their weight behind our annual fund drives in Congress. We had, in fact, devised an elaborate "trigger mechanism" whereby their funding, to be provided under a separate portion of the act, would depend upon and come only after a healthy increase in the funding for traditional programs. We were saved from having to carry out this deal because Congress decided to separate legislatively all educational funding for higher and elementary-secondary education, thus moving the new section into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Another attempt to reform language and area studies activities under the act came in response to repeated indications that the laissez-faire fellowship system had resulted in unemployment and a highly skewed disciplinary distribution among both faculty and graduates of the programs. There were lots of historians, literature specialists, and political scientists, but few economists, sociologists, or applied and professional specialists. To remedy this presumed maldistribution, the Department of Education established a set of priority disciplines for each world area and required the centers to redress this disciplinary imbalance in their fellowship allocations in an effort to head off the attacks on the program by training specialists who were presumably employable particularly in nonacademic fields.

A further attempt to reform the language and area studies portion of Title VI came in the redefinition of the distinction between graduate and undergraduate area programs. In earlier years, undergraduate center status was given to programs that were like the graduate programs but not so large or fully developed. Undergraduate centers thus constituted the lower end of a single continuum from large to small programs. Mid-sized centers used to hedge their bets by applying in both categories. Under pressure from some of the liberal arts colleges, the dual-applications option stopped. Undergraduate centers, introduced in 1965, were dropped, then reintroduced in the late 1970s. Now institutions decide whether to apply for undergraduate centers only or for comprehensive centers that combine undergraduate, graduate, and professional courses and students. The criteria for selection of centers were changed to make a clear difference between graduate-oriented and undergraduate-oriented centers. For instance, library collections were no longer rated on absolute size but on appropriateness for the particular teaching role. Moreover, an undergraduate-oriented seed money program was introduced in 1972 as a vehicle for experimenting with the early stages of programs that would receive only short-term support rather than support in perpetuity.

The most recent attempt to change the language and area studies section of the bill came as a response to a feeling that instruction in the less commonly taught languages needed to be modernized. The device selected was a requirement that centers adopt proficiency testing as a system of evaluating individual language performance. It was presumed that this would allow comparison of the effectiveness of teaching programs and the accomplishments of individual students. This strong preference for a particular form of testing was built into the last reauthorization of Title VI. It emerged most clearly in the legislative language relating to fellowships and in the Department of Education's guidelines, priorities, and instructions to selection panels. It came when the belief in the curative virtues of proficiency testing was at a peak. Some of the enthusiasm for this particular form of testing, indeed for the efficacy of testing more generally, has now diminished. On the positive side, this reform movement has spread the notion of program accountability for the results of language instruction. On the negative side, there have been strong reactions against the perception that a single and not fully applicable testing strategy had been prematurely given a governmental imprimatur. The result has been a concerted move to broaden the spectrum of acceptable strategies for testing language competencies in reauthorizing the legislation this time.

EFFORTS TO ADD PROGRAMS

The fourth major reformist drive has taken the form of adding to Title VI clienteles and programs having little to do with the original goals of the legislation, an attempt to incorporate more and more aspects of international studies under the Title VI umbrella. In part, the drive to incorporate some of these non-area-studies portions of international studies within Title VI resulted from the fact that the proposed International Education Act of 1966, which would have covered many of these domains, was never funded. More recently, the same wide range of international studies interests was supposed to be included in a proposed national foundation for international studies. Indeed, in the absence of such an umbrella act or foundation, more and more international studies groups find ways to climb under the Title VI umbrella.

The first supplementary reform of this type was the 1973 addition of a category called international studies centers to the list of full-fledged, permanent centers. They comprised, in the main, non-area-focused ventures in international education, for instance, international relations centers, or thematic centers covering the whole world. As the rationale for Title VI shifted from defense to competitiveness, Title VI began to focus more and more on business. One example was the inclusion in 1985 of the international management program at the Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies at the Wharton School as one of the permanent international studies centers. More generally, a whole new section of the act, called Part B, Business and International Education Programs, was established in 1980. Its purpose was to seed innovative programs that applied international studies to business. At the same time that this program represented a deliberate shift from language and area studies, it also clearly broadened the former emphasis on research universities, where language and area studies programs most comfortably reside. In the selection of institutions to be supported in Part B, preference was shown for smaller institutions with a limited history of international studies. Very recently, Title VI has expanded further into business training. At the initiative of Congress, not the administration, at first five, now nineteen, centers of international business education were funded. In one of the many ironies of Title VI, these CIBERS, as they are called, are funded at a considerably higher level than the traditional language and area centers.

The durable political strength of Title VI lies in the fact that its clientele is widely dispersed throughout the country and its monies are largely distributed as discretionary general support. Over the years, while individual competitions change which centers are supported, most center directors have come to believe that the program will be funded into perpetuity. Title VI's basic unit is the center, which receives general support for itself and its students. One result of the center-based, widely dispersed distributive nature of Title VI is that much less attention and support are given to programs supported under Title VI that are non-center oriented and that fund activities contributing to the national needs of the field. Indeed, when they seem to compete with center priorities, national programs have few champions. The fact that Title VI is a center-driven program has been both a source of strength and a major constraint on flexibility and growth. I strongly urge that in any discussion of reauthorization someone speak for those aspects of Title VI that support some of the necessary national superstructure.

I will mention briefly three such programs that are currently funded and three more that were written into the act but are as yet unfunded. The first is the Fulbright-Hays section, which provides fellowships for faculty and students to work abroad and supports a number of overseas advanced language centers providing upper-skill-level training for students as well as group projects abroad. Richard Thompson used to insist that any official or lobbying reference to Title VI include the Fulbright-Hays section as well for fear that Congress, in a fit of absent-mindedness, would not appropriate any money for it. This omission would have been a major blow for the field, but it has been difficult to marshal the kind of broadly dispersed popular support for Fulbright-Hays programs that center funding can muster. Similarly, while the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education are providing specially targeted funding for foreign language research and development, the modestly funded research grant program and the Fulbright-Hays-supported faculty research-abroad competition provide almost the only monies regularly available for research and development in the field as a whole. Their loss would be a major tragedy for international studies, but, as in the case of Fulbright-Hays, since it is everybody's business it often seems to be nobody's business.

Another Title VI–funded national level program supports a different kind of center, one that is specifically dedicated to making a national contribution, not bounded by a particular university or consortium of universities. As indicated earlier, at the last reauthorization those within and especially those outside of the Title VI constituency were concerned that the nation needed to take major steps to enhance instruction in the less commonly taught languages. As a contribution to this process, the reauthorized act contained the provision that national language resource centers should be created that would coordinate and help perform the needed research and development activities for the Title VI–relevant portion of the language field as a whole. In the first two years under the new authorization, no funds were appropriated for these centers. These were periods of constant budget level support for Title VI, and all concerned were reluctant to reduce support for existing programs to fund new ones. In 1990, through the special interest of the late Congressman Silvio Conte, the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee who became interested in the general advancement of instruction in the less commonly taught languages, Congress funded two such centers and a third was added with monies transferred in from the Department of Defense.

The process of selection of the new centers illustrates several of the changes that have taken place in Title VI more generally.

1. Since its origin in the aftermath of Sputnik, one of the primary rationales for Title VI has been to foster instruction in the less commonly taught languages. In spite of the clearly stated intention of the appropriations committee, the coverage, both in languages eligible for support and in the appointment of the selection committee, was expanded to include Western European languages, and, indeed, second language acquisition more generally.
2. The Department of Education elected to model this program on the section of Title VI that supported individual research projects, rather than multi-purpose centers. This emphasized the value of individual projects to be initiated in the future rather than the past record of performance and overall strength of the centers. Although center applications undergo a peer review, the projects themselves are not subject to such a review.
3. The intention of the legislation to improve instruction in the less commonly taught languages more generally was narrowed to support of research and training for proficiency testing and the preparation of new teaching materials.

As a consequence of these implementation decisions, the choice of centers to be supported under this portion of the act startled and disturbed many in the original Title VI constituency. It dramatized the need to attend to the administration of the act as well as to the wording of the enabling legislation.

In addition to these national level programs funded under Title VI, three others were written into the act but remain unfunded. I consider all of them possible major contributors to the national development of the field, but I fear that if they do not receive an appropriation in the next go-round, or if someone does not specifically urge their continued inclusion in the reauthorized act, they are likely to be swept out of the act.

The first is the so-called second-tier fellowship program. This program has no backers except the students. When our *Beyond Growth* site visit teams interviewed area studies students on each campus we visited, the students' greatest concern invariably was to find support for their advanced education, which was usually considerably longer in duration than that of their domestically oriented counterpart graduate students. Accordingly, we proposed that the reauthorized act include a new type of fellowship that would start after the satisfactory completion of the first two years, have some minimal specification of language competency, cover up to four years of expenses for work both domestically and abroad, and be awarded on the basis of a national competition.

We have been unable to get anyone to back this program even though the equivalent is in practice in several of the area studies groups, such as the Soviet and Middle Eastern fields. Indeed, the proposed program was modeled on the old Foreign Area Fellowship Program. The fellowship programs of the joint SSRC-ACLS committees serve this purpose now, although the joint committee fellowships have now been sharply curtailed. In this case an obvious national need has a difficult time making any headway because it sits in the superstructure of the field rather than in individual centers.

And finally, let me mention two other authorized but unfunded programs. Looking from the outside, one might think that an answer to the problem of widely dispersed demand and highly concentrated teaching resources for many of the less commonly taught languages would be language training in cooperative summer programs. In summer, truly intensive training can be given. Currently about 14 percent of FLAS funding is for summer language study, and some of the regular center funding is earmarked for summer language programs. A special provision for support of intensive summer language institutes, written into the act at the time of the last reauthorization, remains unfunded. Similarly, the special needs of maintaining expensive library collections are not fully met as part of the general grants for centers. Especially costly and in danger of loss of coverage is the collection of up-to-date periodicals from around the world. Library support, and within it periodical acquisitions, has a way of finding itself at the bottom of the list of priorities when general funds are handed out. Funds are now authorized in Title VI for such free-standing summer programs and periodicals, but they have received no appropriation.

To summarize, the original goal of Title VI was to create a cadre of language and area specialists who were pledged to teach. Over the years, this portion of the act has been changed to try to broaden the occupational goals of graduates, to balance the disciplines represented, to spread further into the undergraduate level, to serve clienteles outside the centers, and to adapt a particular form of language testing as a standard. In addition to these changes in the core area studies program, a series of add-ons has broadened its coverage. These include the citizens' education and secondary school portions that were briefly funded under Title VI, then under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the non-area-oriented international studies programs; and international studies centers and experimental programs. In addition, several programs serve the national superstructure. Three are funded: since 1962 the programs under Fulbright-Hays, since 1959 the research grant program, and now the Language Resource Centers Program. Three have not been funded: the second-tier fellowship programs, periodical acquisitions, and the intensive summer language institutes.

A look at the long history of Title VI shows clearly that the program has been immensely valuable to the field of language and area studies and to international studies more generally. As federal programs go it is extremely durable and remarkably stable. While it has periodically added new clienteles at the margin, the basic purposes and form of Title VI have not been fundamentally changed since its inception. Indicative of its stability is an experience at a center directors' meeting some years ago which was convened specifically to consider restructuring Title VI. The staff of the Department of Education had suggested that we be innovative and creative in considering a new format for Title VI; instead, we reinvented Title VI phrase by phrase.

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DoD, Social Science, and International Studies

Relations between higher education and the Department of Defense (DoD) are convoluted and stressful.* To paraphrase Dwight Eisenhower, the military-educational complex needs constant attention. Increasingly, the question is being raised on both sides of that relationship as to whether it is currently operating in a fashion that fully serves our national needs. For one thing, the relationship is becoming inordinately stressful. Small things often raise hackles on both sides of the divide. Nowhere is this situation more apparent than in relations between social science and the military, particularly in those aspects of social science that illuminate international affairs. One would have thought that since our military's mission largely has to do with operations in other countries, the various branches of international studies on American campuses would nurture and inform that mission, whether directly or indirectly, and that, conversely, DoD would have a vital stake in assuring the health and vitality of international studies. Neither appears to be so. It is to this interface between the social sciences and the military—in particular, academic international studies and the military—that we direct our attention.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

First, consider a bit of the general recent history of university-military relations. For the social sciences, the military connection in both world wars spurred important growth. In World War I, major advances were made in the measurement of intelligence. In World War II, key social scientists moved from positions of external advisers to internal policymakers conducting research intended to influence policy directly. For instance, sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists worked in the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the War Department and in the Foreign Morale Analysis Division.[1] Out of this experience came major developments in attitude measurement, scaling, the fit of individuals to organizations, the role of values in behavior, small-group research, and many aspects of social engineering. Views on scientific management were carried from the factory to the military. Experience gained in the management of Japanese internment camps, in the training of Office of Strategic

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* Reprinted from *Universities and the Military*, ed. David A. Wilson, vol. 502 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (March 1989), pp. 94–107.

Services personnel, in the creation of effective command structures among combat troops, and in the conduct of military occupation generated theories on the governance of people more generally. At the end of the war, it was social scientists who developed the point system that dictated the order in which people were released from the services.

Both before and throughout World War II, the scholars who participated in the military effort had strong connections with major research universities and with national research organizations such as the Social Science Research Council. In the postwar period, many of the social scientists who had worked in the military moved back into academia, where they established new styles of research and encouraged a major new emphasis on theory as the basis of scientific advancement. Three of the founding members of the influential new Harvard Social Relations Department had served in the military social science establishment: Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry Murray, and Samuel Stouffer. By 1967, seven scholars actively involved in wartime military research had served as president of the American Sociological Association.[2]

Some of the work of the social scientists spilled over into what became known as area studies. Clyde Kluckhohn was the first director of Harvard's Russian Research Center. During the war, many were involved in the study of other societies, for instance, in attempts to assess the morale of the Japanese population toward the end of the war, and in a major survey in Germany immediately after the war in an effort to measure the effect of strategic bombing on the morale of the civilian population.

These two wartime exercises of social scientists also indicated the limits of the impact of social science research on operational policy in the military. The findings of social scientists that Japanese civilian morale was declining and thereby might undermine the national will to win the war without a major destruction of civilian targets by the Americans was ignored. The evidence of the Strategic Bombing Survey[3] that saturation bombing had very little effect on Germany's willingness to fight was ignored at a later date, when the military decided to utilize the same approach with respect to North Vietnam. Similarly, several decades after the survey, when a group of distinguished political scientists addressed a letter to President Nixon urging the cessation of the bombing of Cambodia, the impact of that letter on military policy was negligible at best.

Indicative of the fuzzy civil-military boundaries of the time is a little-remembered episode that took place between the end of the war in the European theater and its successful completion in Asia. As a token of the high value given to advanced education, the U.S. Army set up from scratch a complete, fully staffed American university in Biarritz, France, to assure that members of America's future intellectual elite could resume their college studies while they served the remainder of their enlistment in Europe. This blurring of institutional boundaries raised no symbolic issues at the time. Today a hostile cannonade would be happily booming along.

As a further indication of the easy mix of military and civilian purposes during the war, the creation of the Army Specialized Training Programs and the establishment of Navy V-12 programs on American campuses were as much attempts to support those hard-pressed institutions whose students were all off to war as it was to train engineers and area studies personnel for whom demand was at best uncertain. In the years immediately after World War II, university campuses performed all kinds of military research without discomfort.

Moreover, past military service was a major supporter of students in universities. A substantial portion of the wave of student enrollments that made the universities' rapid expansion possible in the 1950s and 1960s was composed of veterans who were supported in their college training by the GI bill. Without that influx, it is difficult to believe that the immense expansion of higher education in America, particularly in our graduate schools, would have occurred. In addition, over the years, Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs were established on many campuses. By 1986, there were 534 universities and colleges with these programs, with 92,786 students enrolled.[4] It was in this context of relatively amicable relations that the military services began a long-term process of supporting on-campus research in areas of shared interest. The Office of Naval Research was established by Congress in 1946, the Army Research Office in 1951, the Air Force Office of Scientific Research in 1952. All of them were dedicated to the support of external applied and basic research, much of it to take place on university campuses. Even the creation of the National Science Foundation, as indicated in its initial statement of purposes and governance structure, had a legislatively mandated role for the military. Its first director and many of its senior staff came from the Office of Naval Research.

In the following decades, several things happened. First, there was a period of demobilization immediately after the war—we went from 12.0 million troops to 3.0 million in less than a year and by 1948 we were down to 1.5 million. This figure, however, was still 640 times that of prewar levels. Many pressures pushed the scale of our military establishment upward: for instance, participation in the Korean War and the Vietnam war, the fact that the United States was the only major industrial state to escape relatively unscathed from World War II and therefore assumed a position of leadership in confronting the perceived Soviet challenge both in manpower and in technology, and the negotiation of treaties with other countries that committed us to an extended military posture, including the permanent stationing of troops abroad. Manpower levels peaked during the Korean and Vietnam wars but in other times plateaued at about 2.0 million, far above the notion of the small standing army that had been the United States' tradition throughout most of its history.[5]

It was not the growth in manpower, however, that was most influential in determining the relationship of the military with the universities; it was the need to advance rapidly in research and development in weapons technology. To achieve and maintain the technological superiority on which American military strategy was based, a major research and development effort had to be made, one that required external as well as internal research. Military funding of research and development in technology and engineering increased from $5.4 billion in 1960 to $33.6 billion in 1986.[6] To be sure, most of DoD research moneys do not go to universities but to industrial contractors in the private sector. In 1986, out of the total investment of $33.6 billion, only 3.2 percent, or $1.0 billion, went to universities. The universities' share of what is termed basic research, as contrasted with applied research, is considerably larger: 54.5 percent of DoD funds for basic research in 1986 went to universities.[7] Of course, other sections of the government were also expanding their investment in campus-based research. The federal government accounts for two-thirds of research and development funding at universities. In 1986, DoD funding accounted for only 16.4 percent of all funds from federal agencies for university-based research, but a billion dollars a year flowing from the military to the universities for research cannot help but have a major impact.

The implications of this increase in funding and the increasing dependency of university-based natural science and engineering research on DoD have concerned many thoughtful spokespersons.[8] They worry about the skewing of our national research priorities to military ends, and the movement of the center of decision making for our national research effort to offices in DoD. They worry about the effect of making the research enterprise dependent on a contract versus a grant-funding mechanism, of merit versus peer review[9]—in particular, the intrusion of geographic and other nonscientific considerations into the selection process—of the assignment of priority to narrow, short-term, product-oriented research rather than longer-term, more basic research, and, above all, of the utilization of the fruits of scientists' research for policy objectives of which they disapprove.

This increasing unease in the civil-military research interface growing out of such organizational issues was accompanied by a growing alienation of important sections of the university-based intellectual community from our nation's foreign policy, at the same time that that policy became increasingly intertwined with military policy.

Particular events can be picked out to mark the progress of the alienation—the McCarthy era, although the Army was one of the principal victims; the antinuclear movement; declining civilian support for the overlong Korean and Vietnam wars, and reaction against what was perceived as the misuse of social science in those wars; our military policy in Central America; and, more generally, the growing use of clandestine operations to achieve foreign policy ends. In general, except perhaps for the Berlin Airlift and the Cuban missile crisis, the easy sharing of purpose between the military and academia that was so evident in World War II and the years immediately afterward gradually evaporated.

At the same time, three other processes were under way that had major effects on military-university relations. First, the military developed its own training facilities and expanded its research activities in-house, even though the universities' share in the total technology base and basic research programs expanded. A little-appreciated but dramatic illustration of this is the fact that there are now 38 accredited postsecondary schools maintained by DoD, including 21 that provide both graduate and undergraduate training and 17 that provide specialty training within particular services. While campus-based Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs continued, the more military training —particularly the more technical aspects of military training—was moved in-house. DoD found its needs not to be adequately served by the civilian formal educational system, so it set up its own. Similarly, in support of research, in 1986 DoD spent 32 percent of its basic research and 42 percent of its applied research moneys intramurally.[10]

Second, DoD increasingly dealt with industrial firms, with competitor quasi-academic organizations such as Rand and SRI International, or with one of the host of so-called beltway bandits who could apply for, and deliver, research in the format that DoD favored. DoD-supported research by industrial firms constituted about 30 percent of the total, and another 3 percent was performed by nonprofit institutions other than universities and colleges. Together, the in-house and the non-university-based external research establishment grew immensely. DoD Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation funds expended by nonacademic institutions, including their own laboratories, increased from $3.9 billion in 1955 to $32.6 billion in 1986.[11]

Third, within the university world itself, military-university relations have become a specialized function of an enclaved, limited subset of organizations and individuals. On the one hand, the large contract research shops like the Applied Physics Laboratory at Johns Hopkins University manage DoD research on a large scale. The various services maintain 10 Federally Funded Research and Development Centers located both on and off the campus that serve as principal research contractors that receive both general and preferential treatment in project support. Very recently, DoD has shown its preference for dealing with organized campus-based research organizations in its plan to use the moneys in the congressionally mandated University Research Initiative to establish additional DoD-related research centers on campuses around the country. On the other hand, a relatively small number of individual specialists have become principal participants in DoD-sponsored research, leaving the rest of the professoriat largely untouched. DoD's own estimate is that it supports 14 percent of the nation's scientists and engineers in universities and industries. As we will see, this delimiting of DoD contacts among the professoriat has especially important implications for international studies.

THE SHARE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

With one exception, the general historical sketch outlined also characterizes the relationship between social scientists and DoD: a general decline in amity since World War II, a decline in support for DoD's objectives, a concern for the effect of DoD priorities on the general research profile, the growth of the role of in-house and nonacademic vendors in research and training, and the enclaving of the military-connected research community within the university. The exception to that general history is the limited funding that DoD provides for the social sciences in comparison with the natural sciences and engineering.

Determining DoD's expenditures on social science research is no easy matter. One source that reports on general federal support of research by agency states that, in 1986, only $60,000 was obligated for research in the social sciences performed at universities and colleges.[12] A more detailed report focusing only on universities, colleges, and nonprofit organizations indicates that $2.292 million was spent for that purpose.[13] This figure does not include classified research supported by the intelligence agencies—for instance, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) spends about $500,000 annually in support of external social science research and consultation—and some forms of project research that fall under the operations and maintenance portion of the services' budgets are not reported. Nonetheless, it gives some indication of scale. The figure $2.292 million represents 2.0 percent of the total DoD expenditures for research at academic institutions. It includes economics, political science, sociology, and assorted social science topics. Anthropology and history are reported as receiving no support at all. If one adds social psychology to the list of social sciences, another $11.754 million was given to academic institutions for research, bringing the total up to 12.2 percent of all expenditures.

This pattern of funding is an indicator of DoD's general estimation of the social sciences. By and large, it shares the perspective of most engineers and natural scientists:

it has little interest in them. Moreover, DoD feels bound by the Mansfield Amendment to support only research of demonstrable relevance to the military mission. It is difficult for social science to meet this criterion. When the pattern of expenditures under the new DoD University Research Initiative—which was specifically designed to support the university-based research infrastructure—was being discussed, at least one formal representation was made to DoD to extend the coverage of that program beyond the natural sciences and engineering. The suggestion drew no support whatsoever.

While DoD has no particular interest in the social sciences, most social scientists are generally indifferent or hostile to DoD. Some of this distancing resulted from differences in notions of what rules should govern the relationships between scholars and the uses to which their research is to be put.[14] The most celebrated of these misunderstandings, which resulted in an upsurge of moral outrage in the social science community, was Project Camelot.[15] This was a DoD-funded large-scale research project on "the causes of revolutions and insurgency in underdeveloped areas of the world." The precise source of the outrage was that several scholars in Latin America had been paid from DoD funds without their knowledge of the source. This issue of the acceptability of DoD funding to scholars abroad has remained a central source of friction within international studies, as we shall see. It also precipitated a rancorous debate, part of which had its roots in the uses of social science research in the Vietnam war, about the acceptability of DoD as a bedfellow under the best of circumstances.

As the years went by, most social scientists saw themselves as public critics, not formulators, of American foreign policy in general, and the role of the military was viewed as only one part. The relationship between social science and DoD settled into a posture that can best be described as disengaged and wary.

DoD AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Of special interest is that section of the social science community that deals with foreign affairs, the domain in which DoD policy is supposed to operate. One might expect that the academic base for expertise on other parts of the world and of the global political and economic system would be of direct interest to DoD planning. How does campus-based international studies relate to our military system? The answer is that the same pattern of amity to estrangement characterizes this subset of relations as well, with several special twists.

To begin with, international studies includes within it a series of specialties that differ in their relationship to DoD. We take as examples three such specialties: (1) international relations and strategic studies; (2) foreign language education; and (3) language and area studies. By and large, these specialties have remarkably little to do with each other, and each has a different history of dealing with DoD.

International Relations and Strategic Studies

The study of relations between countries has a long and distinguished academic history. In the period immediately after World War II, such studies tended to concentrate on issues of foreign policy—ours and those of others; on the newly developing United Nations; and on the general properties of the world political system. The results of such research were more interesting to the State Department than to DoD, which was in any event busy dismantling the huge military machine created for World War II. In the late 1950s and 1960s, studies of international relations expanded to include research on decolonization, development, and the emerging Third World. By and large, these, too, were civilian, not military, concerns. There were, however, American academics concerned with strategic policy.[16] This interest gradually expanded, spurred in part by the cold war and concern for nuclear strategy. Academic specialties developed in strategic studies, arms control, and, more recently, peace and security studies, all of which were closely linked to military policy.[17]

As the field grew, the expansion in our defense establishment, noted earlier, was taking place. It was accompanied by a sizable increase in the funds available for support of research. The same pattern of interaction that characterized general DoD-university relations was characteristic of interaction between DoD and international studies as well. DoD employed as external researchers first individuals, then campus-based research centers, and then freestanding contract research shops, sometimes directly connected with the military.[18] The Rand Corporation's symbiotic relationship with the Air Force is only one important example.[19]

Early DoD-commissioned research tended to be narrowly focused on particular strategic problems or on specific weapons systems. As the field of strategic studies matured, a systematic, highly quantitative style of analysis of organized conflict game theory, conflict simulation, and so on developed within the academic community and had an immense impact on military planning. Gradually, the focus of international relations research broadened to include an examination of grand strategic issues. At the same time, in part to privatize strategic planning research, several private foundations—notably, Ford and Rockefeller—nourished the growth of an independent interdisciplinary academic field of strategic studies. More recently, in part through the intervention of the MacArthur Foundation, the emphasis in strategic studies shifted from how to make war to security studies with an emphasis on how to increase the likelihood of peace.

In the course of this transition, DoD's relation to the field shifted. It changed from being a principal patron to being a distant, occasional consumer of the product of these studies. While many of the results of academic strategic planning research were directed to military policy, it is unclear how much attention planners in the Pentagon actually paid to the recommendations emerging from that research. Casual evidence indicates not much. Meanwhile, DoD proceeded to move much of the strategic planning research in-house, using academics as advisers, or, when it dealt with outsiders, contracting out to its customary client research organizations.

Foreign Language Education

One area that did, and still does, receive a fair amount of DoD support is linguistics, particularly applied linguistics as it relates to foreign language instruction. During World War II, the army developed oral-aural texts and teaching materials that became part of a major revolution in foreign language instruction. Teaching materials were prepared in languages that most people had never even heard of in earlier years. After the war, several of the divisions of DoD were among the primary sponsors of an interagency effort coordinated by the National Science Foundation to develop machine translation of foreign languages. This project, begun in 1953–54, funded eight research centers on American campuses. After about a decade of inconclusive research, these projects were discontinued, but in their place a National Science Foundation program first in computational linguistics, then in general linguistics, was created, and this program serves as a major source of support of academic research on linguistics today.

More recently, the National Security Agency (NSA) has quietly served as the principal source of funds for research on the improvement of foreign language instruction in the United States. NSA has stepped into a gaping hole in the mission-agency coverage of an important national issue. There is nowhere else in the federal government where support for such research is available. By and large, the federal government spends all of its language research money in-house, leaving civilian foreign language instruction to its own devices.

In recent years, NSA has funded projects leading to the development of proficiency tests; the introduction of high technology into language teaching, including support for the creation of the principal professional organization in the field, the Computer Assisted Language Learning and Instruction Consortium (CALICO); and the preparation of dictionaries in Ethiopian and Amharic and teaching materials in Georgian, Uzbek, German, Thai, Indonesian, Russian, Somali, Amharic, Polish, Spanish, Hebrew, Chinese, and Korean. It has even invested in telecommunications equipment for language instruction in the Hawaii school system. More recently, the Defense Language Institute, which provides language training for all military personnel, is creating a language research center that hopes to fund both civilian and academic research. The odd fact is that there seems to be relatively little general concern about DoD support—and from an intelligence agency, at that—of foreign language research. One exception was a proposed project on African languages. When it touched the African studies community at the University of California at Los Angeles, sparks flew.

Language and Area Studies

The golden age of amity between the military and academia during World War II extended to language and area studies as well. During the war, academics who were experts on other countries often found themselves brought directly into the war effort. For instance, the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of today's Central Intelligence Agency, recruited many academics, including the founding generation of many campus-based area programs. Many Japan specialists got their start by serving in MacArthur's occupation government in Japan.

It was the Army with its Specialized Training Programs that established programs on campuses across the country to train a corps of specialists on the languages and cultures of different societies. Some of these programs comprised an expansion of smaller programs already existing on a few campuses. Most of them were created from scratch. The purpose of these programs was to train intelligence officers or, in the case of occupation of those countries, military governors. Both the prototypical Specialized

Training Programs and the faculty and students in those programs were the seedbed for the 600 or so language and area centers now spread throughout higher education. At the time, few if any scholars found this close tie with military affairs odd.

As an outgrowth of this period, the federal program that still provides the basic and most durable source of support for language and area studies was created, Title VI of the National Defense Education Act. This bill was enacted as a response to a military development, the launching of the Sputnik satellite by the Russians. Its first purpose was to create a cadre of civilian specialists sufficiently competent in the Russian language, and in a knowledge of Soviet society, to assure that in the future the United States would not again be caught unawares as it was in the case of Sputnik. The intelligence function was to be dispersed throughout academia.

While the initial impetus for Title VI of the National Defense Education Act grew out of the cold war, as the legislation took shape its coverage was extended to include all of the Third World. The Army Specialized Training Program model, this time to train civilians instead of soldiers, was re-created. The program was administrated in the Office of Education, rather than in a military agency, but the use of "Defense" in the title of the act made its rationale clear.[20]

In subsequent years, the relationship between DoD and area studies followed the pattern of increasing stress that characterized DoD-university relations in general. American academics specializing in other parts of the world became increasingly alienated from DoD. This was in part because of a substantive issue, not a procedural one as in the case of the more general DoD-academic relations. Area specialists made little if any distinction between foreign and military policy, and they became more and more critical of the United States' foreign policy in general and its policy with respect to their part of the world in particular. Increasingly, sticky issues of foreign and military policy arose in Third World countries in which the professional interests of area specialists lie. The government as a whole, and the military in particular, rarely behaved the way academic specialists wished they would. Few academic Southeast Asia specialists supported the government's position in Vietnam. Few South Asianists supported American policy vis-à-vis Pakistan at the time of the separation of Bangladesh. Few Latin America specialists favor American policies with respect to Central America or the Caribbean. Few Middle East specialists support American policy in that area. To these grand issues can be added many smaller issues that occur in day-to-day foreign policymaking.

In general, area specialists, with their interest in a particular country or set of countries, tend to have a greater sympathy with the interests of the countries they study than do others in our society, including the military. This makes them difficult allies for the military, which sees its position as hard-headed realism viewed largely, if not entirely, from the perspective of American national interest. In fact, relatively few area specialists participate in the field of security studies at all, as the limited participation of area specialists in the Social Science Research Council's new Peace and Security fellowship program made abundantly clear. More generally, while political opinion within the area studies community is hardly monolithic, nevertheless the sense of alienation from American policy—in particular, military policy—is widespread and deeply felt.

From the perspective of academics, the most troublesome issues in DoD-academic relations reside in the intelligence section of the military, the part of DoD potentially most interested in the expertise of area specialists. In the eyes of many area specialists, DoD is identified with intelligence, and the boundary between DoD intelligence and other members of "the community"—in particular, the Central Intelligence Agency—have become blurred. As area specialists encountered American intelligence operations in the countries where they worked, and as the unsavory nature of some covert actions became a greater and greater subject for public debate, the desire to distance themselves from DoD increased.[21] This desire has been enhanced by the realization that academic colleagues in the countries where area specialists conduct their research will view rather harshly American academics thought to be identified with an intelligence service, perhaps going so far as to exclude them from research inside their countries. The ghost of Project Camelot lives on in Latin America and elsewhere. Indeed, scholars too closely identified with DoD or intelligence affairs are viewed by some of their American colleagues as volunteering for terminal leprosy.

This sense of disengagement from DoD by academic area specialists is accompanied within DoD by an increasing utilization of internal rather than external information sources for its policymaking. One reason for this trend is that many of the basic materials needed for analysis are too highly classified to share them with academics. Another is that the data used in academic analyses cannot be as current or as focused on immediate policy issues as is the huge amount of instantaneously available data within DoD. It is difficult enough for a DoD analyst to drink from the fire hose of information constantly piling on his or her desk from electronic eavesdropping, satellite surveillance, and daily digests of the content of foreign media, without adding tangential academic literature. It is true that there is periodic concern expressed at the highest administrative levels within DoD that this neglect of external opinion is costly. Top-level officials decry the myopia induced by DoD's exclusive concern with immediate information and the increasingly incestuous restrictions of data to internal sources. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the research product of the academic area studies community, with a few conspicuous exceptions, is relatively lightly utilized within DoD.[22]

By and large, over the years DoD has left the funding of language and area studies to National Defense Education Act Title VI, now the Higher Education Act Title VI, giving its moral support to appropriations when needed. In fact, on key occasions when other parts of the administration tried to curtail or abolish this program, DoD rallied to its support, including the sending of an almost unprecedented formal letter from one cabinet officer to another—from the secretary of defense to the secretary of education—protesting a proposed cut in the appropriation for Title VI. Currently, however, there is some indication that traditional DoD support for Title VI may be wavering.

In recent years, there have been several new experimental funding programs within DoD in support of campus-based language and area studies. The most successful was the creation of a several-million-dollar fund within the Office of the Secretary of Defense to support academic social science research on East European affairs. To administer this fund, an academia-administered National Council for Soviet and East European Research was established. After a few years of funding through the defense secretary's office budget, the responsibility for this program was transferred to the Department of State through an amendment of that department's authorizing legislation. One of the principal spokesmen for the congressional legislation—generally referred to as Title

VIII—that made this transfer possible was a general in the Army, who happened to be a Soviet specialist. He later became the director of NSA. In subsequent years, many in the area studies field hoped that the State Department version of this model would be extended to other area studies groups; so far, it has not.

In addition to this program, focused specifically on support of Soviet and East European studies, DoD has introduced a number of experimental funding programs specifically aimed at providing support for academic area studies. Among these are the General Defense Intelligence Program, which joined together all DoD intelligence agencies in support of Third World language and area studies. The second is the Defense Advanced Language and Area Studies Program, which provides for advanced area studies by Defense personnel on American campuses. The third is the Defense Academic Research Support Program, which provides DIA with funds to contract for unclassified, publishable research on area studies topics of interest to it. By and large, these funds have been victims of the general cut in DoD's annual appropriation and the distribution of decision making concerning research support to the various services rather than the central planning section in the defense secretary's office. The fate of the Defense Academic Research Support Program is instructive for the present discussion.

One of the ways in which DIA proceeded to distribute funds under this program was to draw up a list of very broad topical domains in which it had a substantive interest and to invite area specialists to apply for funds to conduct research on topics of their choosing within these domains. As part of the publicity for this program, DIA sent a circular letter to each of the area center directors supported by Title VI, inviting research proposals from their faculty. This clear—and, in the eyes of many academics, dangerous—crossing of the DoD-academic line was the subject of a very heated debate within the area studies community. In the case of two of the world area studies communities, African and Middle East studies, their professional associations publicly decried such a widespread involvement of academics in intelligence matters and urged their members not to participate. In other world area studies groups, equivalent concerns were expressed.

The story of another DoD venture into potential funding for campus language and area studies is even more instructive. In 1982, the then secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, became personally concerned that the nation's campus-based advanced research and training enterprise was in danger of serious decline. Accordingly, the Army, on behalf of all of the services, was directed to contract for a major survey to determine the current state of affairs in language and area studies and to make recommendations for possible DoD support. Soon after, a working group was set up within the larger Defense-University Forum, a group of university presidents and high-ranking DoD officials founded for the express purpose of enhancing communication between DoD and the university community. The Association of American Universities was asked to conduct that study, and a year or so later, on the basis of an exhaustive survey, it submitted a report[23] with a list of 33 specific actions that DoD might take.

What followed within DoD is not unprecedented. While the report was greeted with general approval within DoD at the time of its appearance, making recommendations for specific DoD implementation was tasked—as they say in the military—to an unenthusiastic staffer and to an ad hoc academic-DoD committee. The report died. None of the recommendations has been implemented, with one exception. One of the proposals was for the creation of a congressionally mandated and funded National Foundation for International Studies to make available long-term funding for language and area studies. To accomplish this purpose, DoD funded a project with the Association of American Universities to draw up a possible legislative charter for such a foundation. When the association's report proposing the charter was published, it drew a firestorm of hostile academic reaction. The principal objection was that the funding for the project had come from DoD. Both sides have agreed to let this particular project languish.

The point of this story is to dramatize in extreme form the problems in the current relations between DoD and the university community, and the international studies community in particular. To a seasoned observer, it is quite understandable that stresses, disagreements, and misperceptions should have developed between DoD and the academic community. They are, barring another popular war, likely to continue and increase. From the perspective of the society as a whole, however, it is at least lamentable that the immense national resources that lie in our different institutional compartments cannot more effectively interact and reinforce each other. This is especially true in the area of international affairs, particularly in the determination of military policy upon which much of our country's future may depend.

NOTES

1. For an excellent analysis of the role of influential social scientists in the military during World War II, see Peter Buck, "Adjusting to Military Life: Social Scientists Go to War, 1941–1950," in *Military Enterprise and Technological Change*, ed. Merritt Roe Smith (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), pp. 203–52.

2. Recently there has been a revival of interest in this period. For instance, an unpublished manuscript by Talcott Parsons on the relation of social science to national policy has just appeared. See Samuel Klausner, *The Nationalization of the Social Sciences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).

3. "The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale," in *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950). See also David MacIsaac, *The Story of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey* (New York: Garland Press, 1976).

4. Correspondence with Colonel David M. Beckman, director of the Education Directorate, DoD.

5. For an account of this transformation, see Christopher J. Deering, "Congress, the President, and Military Policy," *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Sept.1988, vol. 499.

6. U.S. Department of Defense, *Report on the University Role in Defense Research and Development*, prepared for U.S. Congress, Committees on Appropriations, Apr. 1987, tabs. 1 and 3.

7. Ibid.

8. See, for instance, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, *Hearings on Science and the Mission Agencies*, "Testimony of Rodney Nichols before the Task Force on Science Policy," 23 Oct. 1985.

9. For the Department's viewpoint, see U.S. Department of Defense, *The Department of Defense Report on the Merit Review Process for Competitive Selection of University Research Projects and an Analysis of the Potential of Expanding the Geographical Distribution of Research,* prepared for U.S. Congress, Committees on Appropriations, Apr. 1987.

10. U.S. National Science Foundation, *Federal Funds of Research and Development: Fiscal Years 1986, 1987, 1988,* NSF 87-314, vol. 36, 1987.

11. Department of Defense, *University Role in Defense Research,* p. 7.

12. National Science Foundation, *Federal Funds for Research and Development,* tab. C-92.

13. U.S. National Science Foundation, *Federal Support to Universities, Colleges and Selected Non-Profit Institutions: Fiscal Year 1986,* NSF 87-318, tab. B-14.

14. For one report on the difficulties an academic felt in dealing with DoD's research support in the 1960s in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, see Seymour Dietchman, *The Best Laid Plans* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976).

15. See K. H. Silvert, "American Academic Ethics and Social Research Abroad," *American Field Service Reports,* 1968; Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Life and Death of Project Camelot," *Transactions,* 3:3–7, 44–47 (1965).

16. See Fred M. Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983).

17. For a review of this history, see Robert O'Neill, "A Historical Perspective on International Security Analysis," *Items,* June 1988, p. 42.

18. For a list of some of these grantees, see National Science Foundation, *Federal Support to Universities,* tab. B-33.

19. It is interesting to note that when the Rand Corporation broadened its research focus, its style of research with its emphasis on quantitative analysis and rigorous research design served as a prototype of academic public policy research in general.

20. "Defense" was later dropped from the title when this section was transferred into the Higher Education Act.

21. For one of the many general examinations of this issue, see Sheldon Hackney, "Academia and Espionage," *Almanac* (University of Pennsylvania), 22 Sept. 1987, pp. 45.

22. For an extensive review of this situation, see *Defense Intelligence: Foreign Area/Language Needs and Academe* (Washington, DC: SRI International, 1983).

23. Richard D. Lambert et al., *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies* (Washington, DC: Association of American Universities, 1984).

19

International Studies and the Undergraduate

Things have changed.* We live in a society that has fewer and fewer boundaries. A war or two aside, we used to live in a society that could afford to look inward, letting our "foreign entanglements," to use George Washington's pejorative term, remain at the margin of our concerns. Now so much of what we do and think is tied to events abroad that it would be foolish of us not to learn to cope with the global society in which we increasingly operate. The debates over competitiveness, disarmament, and trade deficits reflect our troubled efforts to cope. And in recent years, the United States has lost its insularity in another respect: large streams of immigrants once again flow across our boundaries. And the melting pot has lost much of its power. The United States is becoming a permanent multi-cultural society in which the world is us, not some distant backdrop against which the American drama is played out. And while things have already changed mightily, there is every indication that the pace of increasing internationalization of our society will continue and accelerate.

How shall we prepare for this sea change in the context of American life? Surely one of the answers to this question is that in our democratic society, meeting the challenge of increased internationalization must be everyone's responsibility. Large numbers of us need to understand enough of world affairs to staff the key institutions that regularly deal abroad—business, government, the armed forces, the media, our religious organizations. We must also provide an informed, internationally sophisticated public that will understand and support our international policies.

Who is to take the responsibility for creating that informed public? Our communications media can and do provide us with information on current events, and there is evidence of an increase in the number of private organizations providing international information to adult audiences, but in the long run the role of creating a citizenry informed on international affairs belongs to our formal educational system. We need to introduce an international dimension into the education of students while they are still in school and college so that they will be able to perceive and put into context events that take place abroad or across our internal cultural divisions. This study examines how one

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* Reprint of an ACE Special Report (Washington, DC.: American Council on Education, 1988). Summary adapted from *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1989).

segment of our educational system, the undergraduate level in our colleges and universities, has responded to that challenge.

SOURCES OF DATA

What, then, are the data on which this report is based? First, a thorough canvass of the existing literature was conducted. The discussion that follows is based upon that literature and upon seven sources of fresh information collected specifically for this survey. Together they provide both a snapshot of the gross features of international studies as they appear in a representative cross section of American campuses and a detailed analysis of specific aspects of international studies in a carefully targeted sample of institutions. These data derive from:

- Questions on prior international and foreign language training and students' expectations concerning future study abroad inserted in the ACE/UCLA annual survey of all freshmen entering colleges and universities in the fall of 1986.[1]
- Questions on institutions' international education activities and overseas linkages and faculty experience in various parts of the world inserted in ACE's annual Higher Education Panel Report for 1986.[2]
- A special mail questionnaire survey of international studies in 398 universities, four-year, and two-year colleges in a sample drawn at random from the American Council on Education's nationally representative Higher Education Panel.[3]
- Results of site visit interviews and detailed questionnaires filled out by presidents, provosts or deans, chairs of foreign language departments and international majors, minors, and concentrations, study abroad administrators, international studies administrators, and librarians in a purposive sample of 47 institutions.
- An analysis of the internationally focused course offerings in a subset of 42 institutions.
- An analysis of the transcripts of random samples of students graduating in 1986 from 34 institutions in the site visit sample.
- Responses to a general request for information on international studies sent to the presidents of all higher educational institutions in the United States.

Although international studies covers many different aspects of a campus' activities, we have concentrated the analysis that follows under four rubrics: study abroad, foreign language instruction, internationally focused concentrations and courses, and the internationalization of the campus as a whole. This report is intended to serve the policy makers in international studies at the institutional, state, and national levels. Accordingly, it stresses what is true in the aggregate within institutions, classes of institutions, and nationally. It tries to present the information on what the dispersed activities in international studies add up to, and what information is needed for forward planning of the enterprise as a whole or of its various segments. Hence, less emphasis is given to individual cases except to point out unusual examples of the broader themes stressed throughout the report.

What follows are brief summaries and recommendations of the substantive chapters on study abroad, foreign language instruction, and internationally focused courses and concentrations.

STUDY ABROAD

1. The overall proportion of American students who study abroad in all but the most prestigious private liberal arts colleges is far too low. It is too low in comparison with trends in other countries. For instance, the European Economic Community is planning to send at least ten percent of the students in each member country to study in another member country. Their program has been introduced as part of the preparation for a common market that will move freely across national boundaries by 1992. Our need is even greater. It is too low in terms of America's own needs. Given our geographic isolation, our need to expand our markets in other countries, both within the European Common Market and elsewhere, and the increasing entanglement of domestic and foreign affairs in our political system, we need more and more citizens with some direct exposure to foreign cultures. The current very low percentage of American students studying abroad must be expanded.

Inasmuch as the current system is dependent both upon the decisions of those who create and sustain study abroad programs and of students who freely choose to enroll in those programs, any attempt to increase the scale of study abroad must place new resources in the hands of program entrepreneurs and administrators and of the students who will enroll in such programs. This means that increasing dramatically the number of American students studying abroad calls for program money which is allocated both to institutions or national organizations and to individual students in the form of fellowships. A combination of such monies, distributed from a national—in the case of the European Economic Community, an international—source might be prohibitively expensive, except, perhaps in the case of model programs demonstrating new approaches, or penetrating into new areas of the world, or in institutions just beginning to develop study abroad programs. State governments, institutions' own resources, and local fundraising are more likely sources of monies for these purposes. Indeed, since our data show that on many campuses current programs are fully supported by the students who participate, raising the proportions of students who study abroad may depend more heavily on efforts to expand student demand and to remove the intra-institutional blockages that inhibit individual students from participating.

2. While simple growth in the scale of the enterprise may be achieved largely by increasing funding at the state and local levels, our experience with the results of an essentially laissez-faire system of study abroad demonstrates that important student groups will still be underrepresented among those studying abroad. To bring such groups into the process will call for specifically targeted funding. In some cases, this will require changes in the receptivity to study abroad in entire institutions, classes of institutions such as community colleges, or for population groups such as minorities and those currently employed. Here, external funding will be required as a catalyst for overall growth in the participation rate of such institutions or groups, as well as for the development of new types of programs such as those specifically geared to the part-time,

adult, occupationally oriented students who make up a substantial portion of the community college population. A similar case can be made for specialized institutions such as engineering, business, education, or nursing schools where the general liberal arts orientation of study abroad is less appropriate. In other cases, increasing the participation of underrepresented groups requires the establishment of specially focused programs such as those aimed at the natural science students or those studying for applied and professional careers. In addition to the provision of financial resources, major intra-institutional effort has to be invested to expand the relevant faculty's receptivity to study abroad, and above all to increase interest in overseas study among these students. At the national level, funding needs to be made available for the development of pilot programs seeking to develop the new patterns that will adequately serve the needs of these neglected student groups. In addition, a national program of student fellowships earmarked for some of the important but underrepresented groups needs to be created. Otherwise, ten years hence, we may have a greatly expanded number of student participants, but will retain the same lack of representativeness as the current system.

3. Most students going abroad for study go to a very limited set of countries, mainly Great Britain and the countries of Western Europe. In a world in which the non-European countries will play an ever-increasing role in global affairs, our continued absorption with Europe is dysfunctional. Special effort and special funding must be made available to expand the non-European opportunities for study abroad. Just expanding the number of institutions suddenly launching new programs, as happened in China a few years ago and as is now happening in the Soviet Union, is not enough. We need a collective stocktaking as to what works best for what kinds of students. Students need to be better prepared for study abroad in a non-Western country both by taking substantive courses on the country and by acquiring enough competency in the language of the country so that they can adequately cope with the environment and profit from instruction given in that language. The large number of special English-medium enclaves that often serve as havens within which inadequately prepared Americans can be accommodated and given a watered down, Americanized version of local education represent an inadequate compromise. This system of halfway houses must be supplanted over time with programs where fuller immersion in an overseas educational system, fully utilizing the language of the country, is possible. It is time that American study abroad programs in developing societies move beyond the training wheels stage. It is also important, and exceedingly difficult, to send not only students of languages, area studies, anthropology, or political science to non-Western countries, but those students majoring in the natural sciences, in the applied and professional disciplines, and those enrolled in community colleges. They too, or perhaps they especially, will need firsthand familiarity with the non-Western world.

4. While for most students some study abroad is better than none at all, the long-term trend in our national system should be toward lengthening the duration of stay for a larger portion of students, with the average tending toward a full academic year. A sojourn of a summer or even a single semester or quarter is rarely enough for a student to get the full benefit of overseas study. Normally, the obstacle to a student's staying abroad longer is the inhibiting attitudes and regulations of the home campus where study

abroad is seen as a diversionary frill, interrupting the flow of the real educational process that is presumed to take place on campus. If the study abroad experience is to be lengthened for a larger number of students, such attitudes must be changed. The financial implications, while real, are a secondary consideration.

5. One of the major challenges currently facing study abroad is to relate the experience the student gains abroad more effectively to the rest of his or her education. Our analysis of the transcripts of graduating seniors and our on-campus visits indicated that study abroad is too often a totally enclaved educational experience. It has little to do with anything else the student does on the home campus. This situation is immensely wasteful. It persists, in part, because most departments do not consider study abroad their affair. Courses taken abroad generally fall within the general education part of the curriculum, and departments, in the main, care mostly about their majors. Integrating study abroad into the rest of the curriculum is only secondarily a question of financial resources. It requires a major effort to produce attitudinal change in many departments and schools throughout the institution. For this purpose, a shift of emphasis in study abroad from the general education to the major portion of the curriculum would be a step in the right direction.

6. Viewing study abroad as a national system in which the individual programs represent separate segments, it is clear that American higher education has created a marvelously productive but almost unbelievably complex structure. The range of different institutions, organizations, and programs spread across some 95 countries is amazing. A laissez-faire response to student demand and institutional initiatives has certainly promoted growth. There is, however, so much overlap and confusion in the system, so much duplication, so many obvious gaps, so great a range in quality, that surely some overall planning and coordination is called for. For instance, some sorting out is in order of the functions and the success and failure rates of the various parts of the system: individual students fending for themselves without the help of intermediaries; single institution-sponsored programs; programs in which one college or university takes in the students from many other institutions; consortia-operated programs; programs managed by proprietary brokers of individual study abroad or institutional programs; full-service American colleges and universities situated abroad; centers, or institutes set up either as spin-offs of foreign universities or as profit-making, independent enterprises to American or foreign students; and national fellowship programs for individual students—both those funded by American and those funded by foreign sponsors. Our survey turned up a veritable thicket of such actors in what may be described as our national study abroad system. Institutions, individual students, and the nation as a whole need, at a minimum, a guide through this thicket. Probably more is needed: some coordination and integration of the system as a whole. The planning process needed to canvass and help rationalize this complex system is certainly well worth undertaking. Whether a long-term national coordinating effort is needed remains to be seen.

7. Finally, there is a more general question. Almost all of the evaluation of study abroad has concentrated on the characterological and attitudinal benefits that accrue to individual students as a result of studying abroad. There is a surprising lack of evaluative research on the academic benefits or the substantive knowledge that students gain. This seems to be true even of foreign language study abroad where one would have expected

that the "value added" by in-country study of a foreign language for particular students at particular points in their education in particular learning contexts would have been fully documented. Such evaluative studies on the academic content and benefits of study abroad are quite scanty. At this stage in the development of our national system of study abroad they could be very helpful.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

1. Institutions need to consider what is the most desirable proportion of and interrelation between foreign language related courses and other international courses. The current ratio is about fifty percent in each category. This is the result of historical evolution and may or may not represent an optimal allocation of resources and student time in the future.

2. To assist in planning for foreign language instruction, a set of national, state, and institutional indicators of progress in foreign language instruction should be developed which specify the level to which a particular foreign language is offered, the total enrollments at each level, and the cumulative amount of training in that language that different kinds of students have received. Currently available data at the national level tend to be limited to total overall enrollments and how many institutions have degree requirements. These are not sufficient.

3. Planning should seek to expand foreign language instruction to key groups not now being adequately reached. Language requirements are only one tool, and frequently not a very effective one. At present, a minority of college level students take any language courses at all, and those who do tend to take relatively few courses. The greatest amount of foreign language instruction is taken by humanists and social scientists, with natural scientists getting somewhat less training and the applied and pre-professional fields getting very little. The low level of language taking by education majors and future scientists is especially distressing from the perspective of national need.

4. There are two primary goals for foreign language instruction on the campus. One is to provide cultural broadening to the students as part of their general education. For this purpose a major research effort is needed to determine how much and what kinds of foreign language instruction produce the greatest amount of cultural broadening. New curricular materials and teaching strategies need to be developed to maximize this outcome. Currently, the programmatically oriented research needed for these tasks is lacking.

The second major goal is to produce usable language skills. For this purpose, realistic performance standards for specific amounts of language study in an academic classroom setting need to be developed. Current expectations are often unclear, and the amount of time committed by students is too little to enable them to reach truly usable skills.

5. Representatives of primary, secondary, and tertiary education must devise a system to track and to promote cumulative language skill among individual students moving through various levels of the educational system. Such cumulative skill acquisition is currently inhibited by discontinuities between the various grades of high school

and between high school and college, as well as the lack of articulation of teaching materials and strategies across levels.

6. To complement the current emphasis on providing a little language instruction to as many students as possible, a new strategy concentrating on a smaller set of high achievement learners should be developed to take these learners to a considerably higher skill than tends to occur at present. Steps that might be taken toward this end include (a) identifying highly motivated, high aptitude learners in high school; (b) providing separate language learning tracks; (c) establishing high prestige, language-focused magnet schools like "governor's schools" for summer instruction or providing fellowships enabling students to attend existing intensive national foreign language programs; (d) articulating the experience of students in these special schools with their regular high school language training and what they will receive when they go on to college; (e) relating college level instruction to what has been mastered at earlier levels; (f) developing teaching materials and courses specifically dedicated to the production of high-level general purpose language skills; (g) integrating domestic language study and study abroad more effectively, including sending more students for foreign study after they have attained a greater command of the language at home; (h) providing courses in which students can use their high-level skills after their return from study abroad; and, more generally, (i) expanding the number of substantive courses on campuses in which genuine use is made of foreign languages.

7. A major national program needs to be launched to extend instruction in the non-European languages to more students on more campuses. When an institution adds instruction in one of these languages it must be prepared to invest the substantial institutional resources that make instruction in any language a durable and effective part of its curriculum. In addition, multi-campus facilities must be created to offer instruction in the non-Western languages so that each campus need not develop such a capacity on its own. This includes developing consortial arrangements dividing responsibility for language instruction among geographically contiguous institutions, providing national facilities for summer instruction to which students can be sent, and developing the capacity to provide individualized instruction for individual learners scattered on many campuses.

8. Major national, state, and private funds must be provided for the improvement of foreign language instruction at the college level. No such funds are currently available. Expenditures should be allocated to the intra-institutional needs for curricular development, teacher recruitment and training, utilization of recent improvements in computer and telecommunication equipment, and, more generally, as a catalytic investment in making possible the research and development activities needed to upgrade foreign language instruction. In the absence of such investment, it will be extremely difficult to adapt college level language instruction to serve more fully the national need.

INTERNATIONAL COURSES AND CONCENTRATIONS

1. There is universal agreement that higher education must adapt itself to prepare all students for an increasingly interdependent world. There is much less consensus as to what the nature of that preparation should be. Current general education requirements

do not fully address this issue, and national knowledge or attitudinal surveys are of limited help. The international studies profession itself must address the question of what in the coming decades such an adequate, parsimonious internationalized education for all students should be. Planning at the collegiate level must take into consideration and build upon what is accomplished in secondary schools. A series of national discussions is required to develop several alternative instructional models for teaching what all students need to learn. In addition, special attention must be given to the needs of students that the current system is not adequately reaching—for instance those in the sciences, the professions, or in community colleges. Resources must be made available for highly public experimentation in the application of successful models on different kinds of campuses. National level committees, similar to those in the natural science professional associations and academies, need to be established to help coordinate the overall effort.

To fully reach the largest number of students with international materials, adding courses fully committed to international topics, even when they find their way into the quota of compulsory courses in general education, is not enough. Institutions should pursue a strategy of diffusing international studies coverage into as many disciplinary courses as possible. Some of the planning for such diffusion should take place on individual campuses, bringing together international studies specialists and their disciplinary colleagues who teach introductory courses. A supplemental effort, however, should be conducted among international studies professionals at a state or national level which can address, among other things, changes in the approach and content of textbooks in the basic disciplinary courses.

2. Since the de facto core curriculum in international studies is the combination of internationally focused courses that most students choose to take as electives, institutional planning should constantly assess not only the aggregate contours of course offerings in international studies, but also how many and what kinds of courses different types of students actually take. Continued undirected growth in the name of increasing internationalization is not sufficient. In particular, institutions must deliberately plan such matters as how their resources will be invested in instruction in an areal or a trans-national thematic format; what the balance should be in teaching about the different geographic areas of the world; how many regions or countries should be covered on campus, in institutions overseas, or offered cooperatively in consortial or summer programs; what the ideal disciplinary spread of offerings should be; and what the proper balance of historical versus contemporary courses in international studies should be.

3. Many of the externally funded programmatic initiatives in international studies comprise attempts to construct crosscutting linkages among courses, or fitting existing international studies courses into larger wholes. International studies concentrations represent the durable curricular structures that crystalize such linkages for students who choose to enroll in them. On most campuses and for most such concentrations, the primary problem is one of scale; that is, the number of faculty and students involved in concentrations is usually quite small. Institutions need to find additional ways of promoting cross-course linkages in international studies for those students not enrolled in concentrations. For the concentrations that are in place, institutional planning should constantly review whether the cross-sectional complement of concentrations which past entrepre-

neurial activity has created is the one best suited to future instructional needs. Full advantage should be taken of the different degrees of institutionalization available to allocate different levels of concreteness and concentration of effort according to an institution's overall priorities in international studies. In addition, most concentrations do, and all should be expected to, play a variety of extra-curricular developmental roles for international studies more generally on the campus. To make such trans-departmental, and occasionally trans-school, concentrations effective, institutions must be prepared to invest their own resources and/or find external resources to meet the unusual costs of international studies. Above all, such concentrations must, either on their own or through the office of the appropriate dean, have some rights of consultation on departmental appointments in their domain so that their staffing needs can be met.

4. There are two implicit educational models for internationally focused course concentrations. One model assigns to international studies concentrations the same goals of intellectual enrichment and broadening that other parts of a general liberal education presumably share. The other model views these concentrations, particularly majors, as part of the early career training of future international affairs specialists. Directors and faculty members who establish such concentrations should choose carefully which of those orientations they choose to adopt in specifying the content of individual courses and the collective requirements that all students enrolled in the concentration must take. To help in making this choice, faculty should monitor the later life careers of graduates. Concentrations that regularly serve as "feeder" programs for graduate specialist training programs should be designed to provide the early stages of career training, and should also take into consideration the articulation between collegiate and graduate education so that continuity and cumulativeness in international studies education can be assured. Where students do not tend to go on to become international studies specialists, the curriculum should serve more general educational goals.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The above recommendations relate to the major separate components of international studies: study abroad, foreign language instruction, and internationally oriented courses and concentrations. One of the major conclusions of this report is that we should be in a consolidation and reshaping mode. After several decades of substantial growth on almost every campus in the teaching about other parts of the world, the essential task for institutional and national planners is not to add this or that course or program to the existing complement, although there is some augmentation still to be done in some institutions and for certain kinds of students. The most pressing task is to have the institutions and the professions involved in international studies attend to the overall shape of the enterprise. That somehow the current state of affairs is not optimal is attested to by the steady drumbeat of reports and public statements bemoaning the continued unpreparedness of this generation of students for the cosmopolitan environment that will face them.

International studies education is especially difficult to manage since so many different parts of the institution must be touched. It is an aggregate enterprise whose health depends on what the various parts add up to and how they fit together. The challenge is how to encourage and direct growth in such a widely dispersed, student-demand-driven enterprise within an institutional context that values highly disaggregated decision making and control. Successful strategies for cross-sectional change in higher educational institutions in the United States do not come easily. At a minimum they require a high degree of commitment from highly placed administrative officers. However, institutions and state and national level planners cannot and should not attempt to micro-manage the content of individual international studies courses; this is rightly the preserve of individual faculty members and departments. Nonetheless, they cannot avoid the responsibility for nourishing and helping to direct the growth of international studies as a whole, if it is to better serve the needs of the students and the nation. In the end, the changes that are needed must be made in the many different parts of the campus if international studies is to be successful. It will require collective effort and planning on the part of all participants.

NOTES

1. Alexander W. Astin, *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1986* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, 1986).

2. Elaine El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1986* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1986), 12–13.

3. Charles J. Andersen, *International Studies for Undergraduates, 1987: Operations and Opinions*, Higher Education Panel Report, no. 76 (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1988).

20

The Challenge of Internationalization and the Response

EXPANSION

Before World War II, the United States was an essentially insular country; international affairs were marginal to most of American life.* Since that time, more and more sectors of our economy and our society have developed substantial—and growing—international dimensions. Whether we like it or not—and not all of the consequences are benign—our center of gravity has, in many aspects, moved to the global system. Foreign trade has become an increasingly important component of our economy. American companies export and import goods, manufacture them in plants abroad, enter into contracts to construct buildings, plants, roads, and the like, license technology, franchise everything from hamburgers to hotels, offer financial services and insurance, lend money to governments and private firms, sell services such as advertising and business consulting. They move huge sums of money hourly in the world capital market so as not to be whiplashed by international fluctuations in the value of the dollar. The inflow of foreign investment helps manage our deficit, and transnationally dispersed manufacturing systems muddy the distinction between domestic and foreign companies. Wage scales in Korea, Mexico, Taiwan, and Hong Kong depress those in the United States. We are engaged in complex alternative trade systems in which commodities flow in intricate multinational barter exchanges.

Few days go by without U.S. involvement in a political crisis in yet another country previously on the periphery of our national attention. With increasing frequency, the internal and international conflicts of other countries intrude into the domestic politics and media of the United States. The invasion of Grenada played on home television like an episode of *Dallas*. Hijackers in Beirut directed their drama to the American living room audience. A two-and-a-half-minute clip from a BBC film showed on NBC helped to generate a billion-dollar American government relief effort for Ethiopia and a $70 million show business blitz to raise money for the same purpose. Our educational institutions, our scientists, our churches, our cultural organizations—museums, orchestras, theater, film—now flow across national boundaries almost as easily and as frequently as they used to move across state boundaries.

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* Reprinted from *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986), ch. 1.

RESPONSE

The American response to the internationalization of important aspects of our society has been characteristically profuse, multicentric, and immensely inventive. Municipalities and chambers of commerce vie with one another to become "international cities" or "favored nations," investing large sums of money, energy, and hype. Our churches serve their expanded foreign constituencies by satellite telecommunication and transnational personal ministries. Large companies have become multinationals or have developed extensive international divisions in their home offices. There are some 2 million Americans living abroad, and annually about 4 million trips abroad taken for business purposes. Last year some 12 million Americans traveled abroad for business or pleasure. There are 27,000 Americans studying abroad and 343,000 foreign students registered at American universities and colleges. Annually on the Fulbright program alone, approximately 400 to 450 American students travel abroad for study or research, and 1,000 foreign students come to the United States. So far the Fulbright program has made it possible for approximately 54,000 Americans to go abroad and 100,000 foreigners to come to the United States under its auspices. Natural science and medical research have become international and collaborative. Our physicists operate cyclotrons and telescopes that are jointly owned by a number of nations, and highly successful programs are sustained with respect to meteorological and other matters relating to the biosphere. Internationally coauthored engineering and technology-related articles as a percentage of institutionally coauthored articles have risen from 13% in 1976 to 16% in 1980. In 1980, more than 40% of all jointly authored articles in mathematics were international collaborative efforts.

In education, 39 states have organized programs to promote international education, and scattered throughout its various departments and agencies, the federal government has 196 separate programs in support of foreign language and international studies. The major professional association linking American business schools has included international business training in every degree requirement as part of its accreditation criteria. Foreign language requirements and enrollments, after an ominous sag, are climbing again. At our major universities there are 71 federally supported graduate-level programs producing advanced specialists who are expert on one or another of the world's regions. Many colleges have developed substantial study-abroad programs, and colleges and high schools have introduced global perspectives into their curricula. Some universities have engaged in long-term service to economic and technical development in the third world. And our federal government has erected an elaborate set of educational institutions of its own to train people for international missions and occupations unique to the government.

CONTRADICTIONS, OVERLAPS, GAPS

Viewed from a national perspective, it is inevitable that the separate objectives and trajectories of American responses to internationalization would not produce a coherent, integrated, balanced, and fully effective national strategy. For instance, we are reducing the number of representatives of American business and of the American press stationed abroad just as our enmeshment in the world system is expanding exponentially. Large corporations are able to build international expertise in-house, but medium- and small-scale companies cannot afford to hire international specialists, and they have nowhere to go for the information needed to operate successfully abroad. Just as our need for direct knowledge of multiple levels of other societies increases, we become more dependent upon foreigners and compradors for that information. And a number of our key abstracting and scientific information storage organizations are being quietly bought up by foreign firms, speeding immensely the outflow of our advanced technology.

In foreign languages, we spend almost nothing on providing foreign language training for English-speaking adult Americans who may need to use another language in their work. Yet we spend millions to serve the language needs of immigrant populations whose foreign language skills we are busily trying to eradicate. We spend billions of dollars annually to train millions of American students in one or two years of French or German languages of countries that are no longer our primary trading partners or cultural models—without having any way of knowing what level of competency those students have attained. We are fairly sure, however, that the skills they have attained would be barely enough for survival if they were called upon to use them. Moreover, we have no idea—indeed, no way to measure—what students retain of those competencies as adults, although our suspicion is that it is close to zero.

In education, we provide federal funds for the training of specialists on the non-Western world but subsidize the research only of those studying the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We have no way of directing at least part of the research of language and area specialists into issues of importance to public policy. We put federal money into pilot projects in international education at the undergraduate level and for mixing business and international education, but we have no way of knowing which, if any, of the experiments work or establish permanent roots. After 30 years of federal support for campus-based international studies, we are still in the "pilot project" stage. We subsidize the creation of durable crossnational links for natural scientists, but not for social scientists and humanists. We have created, at taxpayers' expense, three parallel education systems for the training of international specialists—one on our campuses, one within the Department of State, one within the Department of Defense—and they have almost nothing to do with each other. Indeed, in general we have insulated from each other the international aspects of our major institutions—government, business, academic, media—and as a consequence their strengths are not mutually supportive. The establishment of overseas centers for research and training of American scholars has roughly followed the availability in particular countries of so-called "excess currencies," with little thought given as to whether the resultant geographic distribution of such centers maximally serves the national interest. And money for the support of such centers has to be bootlegged under appropriation categories not specifically designated by Congress for that purpose.

We have no national policy on the accumulation and diffusion of scientific and scholarly information, and gaps and overlaps abound. We have funded the accumulation in 23 university libraries of everything published in India and Pakistan, yet we have put almost no national resources into library collections with respect to other countries, nor into preserving the materials we bought previously that are now disintegrating on library shelves. And aside from the major university research libraries whose collections are available primarily to those affiliated with those universities, only the Library of Congress has an equivalent international collection that serves the general public. Widely available collections specifically serving the needs of American business are almost nonexistent. Very substantial specialized collections within the federal mission-oriented agencies like the Department of Agriculture, the Agency for International Development, and the Department of Defense are not generally available for public use, although they are assembled with taxpayers' money.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

After 40 years of spasmodic and uncoordinated response to the demands of the increasing internationalization of our society, the time has come to put in place a National Foundation for International Studies to make that response more effective by (1) placing the various developments within some overall framework of national needs; (2) identifying redundancies, misdirections, and important gaps; (3) shifting existing resources and marshaling new ones from the various sectors of our society to better meet those needs; (4) assembling and disseminating data—both serial and ad hoc—essential for national planning; and (5) setting criteria and evaluating the effectiveness of programs drawing upon national resources. Participating in that Foundation, both in funding and in management, would be the segments of our society already investing heavily in our response to internationalization: various levels and agencies of government, business, the private foundations, and universities. The Foundation must serve not just as a granting agency responding to external requests for funding, but as an initiator and implementer of actions that are essential to the national interest. Moreover, it must serve as an active coordinator and facilitator, since many of the activities and programs with which it would be concerned would take place independently in various government agencies or private organizations.

Indeed, it should be stressed at the outset that the proposed Foundation should not be viewed as the only organization, public or private, that would be supporting international studies. As will be noted throughout, the ample fruits of American pluralism so evident in so many aspects of our society—the rich growth of inventiveness and institution building; the remarkable expansion of internationally focused interests and competencies among talented scholars and educators in the humanities, the social sciences, and the applied disciplines, as well as in leaders in business and the professions; the proliferation of programs and funding sources—are evident in abundance in international studies as well. One measure of the success of the Foundation would be the continued vitality of this rich resource base built up over the past decades. Accordingly, we are not recommending a single national policy, but a major new national response. It should be clear that while some of the activities relevant to that response would fall within the domain of the proposed Foundation, some would not. At frequent intervals throughout this report, this distinction will be carefully drawn and its implications made quite specific.

The primary substantive focus of the Foundation would be the interface between government, business, and the scientific and educational community as they relate to international affairs. One of its first activities should be to determine a national agenda in meeting the increasing challenge of internationalization. As a contribution to that end, this report proposes a set of priority issues to indicate the domains that might lie within the Foundation's responsibilities, together with some specific programmatic suggestions about where reallocation of existing resources or the provision of new funding might maximally serve the national interest. Emphasis will be given to problems that have arisen in the course of 40 years' growth, including totally neglected or underdeveloped areas that require attention. The spirit of the Foundation should be parsimonious—saving money as well as allocating additional money; empirical—continuously measuring the results of programs against the common purpose; and pluralistic—coordinating a wide variety of highly dispersed activities and spreading the costs equitably among the various levels of government and relevant sectors of society.

These are the steps the proposed Foundation might take to help meet the interrelated challenges posed by our society's increased internationalization:

1. improving the foreign language competencies of important segments of our population;
2. enhancing the capacity of American business to be competitive in an increasingly internationalized economy;
3. shoring up and improving our cadres of foreign affairs specialists;
4. expanding international communication and the gathering, management, and analysis of information from abroad;
5. building durable linkages and opportunities for overseas sojourns for those engaged in international studies; and
6. internationalizing the education of substantial portions of the successor generation.

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Foreign Language Use among International Business Graduates

The greatest barrier to the expansion of foreign language competencies in the United States is the low value placed on such competence by American society as a whole.* For instance, a recent Gallup survey commissioned by the National Geographic Society[1] ranked foreign language at the bottom of a list of school subjects ranked in order of importance to adults. This low estimation of the value of foreign language skills in the society at large is evident even in sections of the society where expanding international contacts might have been expected to create a greater need for foreign language skills. However, the occupational demand for foreign language skills remains spotty at best. In particular, American business seems to be devoutly monolingual, in spite of overwhelming evidence that almost every American business concern is increasingly involved in international markets or international competition. Survey after survey,[2] including Carol Fixman's investigation commissioned by the National Foreign Language Center,[3] informs us that American companies, even those with numerous foreign transactions, place foreign language competence close to the bottom in their list of desiderata in hiring new employees. The feeling that chief executive officers sometimes express that business in general should do something to cosmopolitanize its executive corps and increase its foreign language competence does not seem to translate into individual corporate policy. In particular, the message does not seem to penetrate to the personnel officers, who believe that foreign language skill is an abundant commodity that can be bought if and when it is needed. Even then, the tendency is to employ native speakers rather than English-speaking Americans who have learned a foreign language in school.

The generally low evaluation of foreign language skills and the limited occupational demand for them are accompanied by a generally low level of competence among adults in our society. While we have no relevant survey data, one would suspect that, aside from ethnic or immigrant communities, only a very small proportion of American adults have genuinely usable competencies in one or another foreign language. Certainly, relatively few of them leave the formal educational system with a high level of foreign language skill,[4] and much of the language competence Americans do acquire in school lies unused and largely forgotten by the time they become adults. Relatively few

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* Reprinted from *Foreign Language in the Workplace*, ed. Richard D. Lambert and Sarah Jane Moore, vol. 511 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (September 1990), pp. 47–59.

Americans take foreign language training after they leave school or college; when they do, except for some occupational uses, the skill levels they attain are quite low.

It is this situation of low demand for, and low supply of, foreign language competence among American corporate executives that some of our business schools have attempted to combat. Many business schools have introduced courses or concentrations in international business.[5] A few of them provide their students with an unusual combination of a usable foreign language competence, a set of general business skills, and a familiarity with the special demands of international business. We are here concerned with three such programs: the program combining the master of business administration and master of arts at the Wharton School's Joseph H. Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies, the Monterey Institute of International Studies, and the University of South Carolina's master of international business studies. Each has a heavy foreign language component and provides instruction in a variety of languages. In reading the findings reported in this article, it should be remembered that the survey used to collect the data covered only foreign language use. There are many valuable aspects of international studies training other than language that are not discussed in this report.

Implicit in these and similar programs are two premises. The first argues that, in spite of the generalized evidence that there is a low corporate demand for foreign language skills, there is an important specialized job market for graduates who possess those skills. The second premise takes as given the current low corporate demand for foreign language skills but holds either that these programs will meet such demand as there is or that the best way to change that situation is to place the specially trained graduates of these programs in corporate executive suites. Sponsors of international business programs believe that, in the long run, their graduates will demonstrate the worth of special international and foreign language training and will begin to deparochialize the American corporate world. In short, the supply will create the demand.

SURVEY SAMPLES

To explore these premises, a questionnaire was mailed to all of the graduates of the three programs. Table 21.1 indicates the total number of graduates to whom questionnaires were mailed in each program and the number of questionnaires returned.

Contrary to my expectations, the graduates of the programs are very similar on all but a very few, relatively unimportant aspects of their postgraduation careers, so for this

Table 21.1: Questionnaires Mailed and Returned, by Program

Program	Number Mailed	Number Returned	Percentage Returned
Lauder	137	83	60.6
University of South Carolina	1,002	404	40.3
Monterey	373	133	35.7
Total	1,512	620	41.0

Table 21.2: All Respondents, Foreign Students, and Americans Not Studying a Foreign Language

	Lauder	University of South Carolina	Monterey	Total
All respondents	83	404	133	620
Foreign students	17	79	18	114
Americans without foreign language	1	7	2	10
Americans with foreign language	65	318	113	496

article I have combined them into a single sample. Nor does there seem to be much selectivity bias in the sample.

Each of the three programs provided me with data on all of their graduates that enabled me to compare those who returned their questionnaires with all graduates on a number of key variables—nationality, domestic versus overseas current address, year of graduation, and language studied. On each of these variables the samples were close approximations of the universes from which they were drawn.

Americans Who Studied a Foreign Language.

Since my primary interest here is in what happens to Americans who have a foreign language competence, for the first steps in the analysis I have excluded two groups of respondents from the sample: students who are nationals of other countries and the few American students who were not required to take a foreign language while enrolled in the international business program.

Table 21.2 indicates the total number of graduates who returned questionnaires, the number of respondents who were foreign students, and the number of American nationals who reported English as the language they studied in the program. The last line indicates the primary sample on which most of the analysis will be based: American alumni who studied a foreign language in an international-oriented business program.

IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE COMPETENCE IN THE JOB MARKET

First, how much competence in what language did the American alumni take out of the program into the job market? Table 21.3 indicates the language they studied while in the program and the degree of speaking proficiency they reported having at the end of their training.

The continued emphasis on Western European languages in our formal education system is also characteristic of the training of American international business majors; 86 percent of the American alumni in our sample had studied French, Spanish, German, or Portuguese. The relative popularity of the European languages studied by American international business students differs somewhat from the normal ranking of enrollments of students in general, however. Among college students, Spanish, French, and German normally have the highest enrollments, in that order, followed by Russian at a considerable distance and Portuguese a quantum step lower. The relatively strong

Table 21.3: Language Studied and Self-Rated Speaking Competence

	Number of American Alumni and Specified Competence Level					
Language	Survival	Beyond Survival	Use for Communication	Near Native	Equal to Native	Total
Russian		2	2	2	1	7
French	2	10	57	53	7	129
Spanish	1	3	35	49	12	100
Portuguese		2	30	28	7	67
German		6	58	56	10	130
Arabic	3	3	4	1		11
Chinese	1	4	14	2	2	23
Japanese	1	3	9	7		20
No information					9	9
Total	8	33	209	198	48	496

showing of German and Portuguese among the international business majors reflects the economic importance of Germany and Brazil. The predominance of French over Spanish is a little more difficult to explain.

The non-Western European languages—Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian—are much less well represented. In view of the likely composition of our trading partners in the decades to come, the low percentage of international business graduates who studied a non–Western European language and the relatively low level of competence they had in it when they graduated are disturbing omens for the future. Particularly notable is the almost total lack of attention paid to Russian or any of the Eastern European languages. It seems that the catalytic role envisioned for these alumni does not yet include a major broadening of our nation's capacity to deal with many of the countries outside Western Europe and Latin America.

The level of competence in foreign languages claimed by these students is surprisingly high. While self-ratings in language skill always tend to be slightly inflated, the confidence these students expressed in their ability to speak the European languages is striking. About half of those who rated themselves in one or another of the European languages believed that their competence was near or equivalent to that of a native speaker. Listening and reading competencies were reported to be even higher, while writing competence was, as usual, somewhat lower. Given this level of fluency, it is unlikely that the level of competence reported was gained entirely in language courses in the programs, tucked in, as they must be, at the edges of an overfull business curriculum. More than half of the students indicated that they were relatively fluent in the language before admission to the program. Indeed, the Lauder program demands a high level of language competence for admission.

Self-rated competence in the non–Western European languages is uniformly lower both at admission and at graduation. This reflects in part the greater difficulty in mastering what are referred to as truly foreign languages as well as the fact that many students are just beginning their training in those languages when they enter the program, whereas almost all the students have had prior college-level instruction in one or another of the Western European languages. The difference in competence levels is another aspect of the difficulty of shifting our national pool of foreign language competencies to meet the demands of a changed economic and political international environment. To provide a cadre of American international business majors with a high level of competence in non-Western languages will require either the upgrading of instruction of these languages at the college level or lengthening the training period at the graduate level.

Subsequent Language Training

One sign of the low value that corporations put on foreign language competence is the relatively few companies that make arrangements for new or reinforcing language training. Only about a third (36.3 percent) of the corporations into which the alumni were hired provide for language training. When they do, it is largely through contracting with proprietary language schools (22.8 percent) or paying for private instruction in the United States (16.3 percent) or overseas (6.7 percent). Relatively few (9.1 percent) provide foreign language within the company itself. The multi-billion-dollar training industry that provides a wider variety of technical skills within the corporation devotes very little time to foreign language training.

Accordingly, only a minority of students—30.8 percent—had taken more language training after graduation, and most of that on-the-job language study was of relatively brief duration: 69.8 percent of it lasted less than six months, and only 16.4 percent was for a year or more.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, as Table 21.4 indicates, most alumni reported that their language skills declined after leaving their international business program, and only about a quarter of them reported any growth in their foreign language competence.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN SECURING A JOB

How useful is foreign language competence in the job market? We asked the alumni how important they thought their language competence had been in securing their first job, and, for the subset who had changed jobs, how important foreign language competence

Table 21.4: Changes in Foreign Language Competence

	Number of Alumni	Percentage
Decreased greatly	58	11.7
Decreased somewhat	201	40.5
Stayed the same	109	22.0
Increased somewhat	75	15.1
Increased greatly	47	9.5
No response	6	1.2
Total	496	100.0

Table 21.5: Importance of Foreign Language in Securing First and Current Jobs

	First Job		Current Job *	
Importance	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Handicap	4	0.8	4	1.3
Irrelevant	148	31.4	114	37.3
Helped some	126	26.8	74	24.2
Important	70	14.9	56	18.3
Very important	123	26.1	58	19.0
Total	471	100.0	306	100.0

* Only those whose current job is different from the first job after graduation.

had been in finding their current job. Table 21.5 indicates their responses to these two questions.

Whether these figures are gratifying or not depends upon whether one concentrates on the half-full or half-empty glass. It would be helpful if we could compare the experience of those alumni with other international business majors from the same institutions, but unfortunately no such surveys exist. Nonetheless, the data are interesting in their own right. For about a third of the workers, a foreign language competence was of no help in securing an entry job. Of the American alumni, however, 41 percent reported that it was an important or very important factor; within that group, 26 percent indicated that it was very important. As we will note later, these figures are surprisingly high given the low levels of utilization of those language skills on the job.

Does the importance of a foreign language competence increase as the alumnus changes jobs? The right-hand columns in Table 21.5 give the responses of alumni who had changed employers since graduation. The distribution of responses relating to the current job is roughly similar to that of the first job, with, if anything, a drift down the scale in importance. A foreign language competence was even less important in finding the second job.

Foreign Language Use on the Job

Even if a foreign language competence was an asset for American alumni in finding a job, was it an important career asset once the worker was on the job? Table 21.6 presents the percentages of alumni who report varying degrees of relevance of their foreign language competence to their personnel status within the company.

These data give some indication of corporate awareness of employees' foreign language competencies, but rewards for the possession of those skills are problematic. In most cases, the company knows about the worker's competence and even enters it in the personnel file, although it is not sufficiently important to be formally certified by any kind of rating or testing procedure. Indeed, almost half of the alumni report that their employer finds such a competence valuable in a general way. Two-thirds of the alumni say that a foreign language competence is important to assignment in their company, although, as we will note later, this does not normally mean overseas assignment.

Table 21.6: Relevance of Foreign Language Competence to Personnel Status (percentage of alumni)

	Percentage Yes
Employer knows of competence	99.1
Competence entered in personnel file	83.3
Formal certification of competence	4.0
Extra pay for competence	8.0

	Degree of Relevance				
	Handicap	Irrelevant	Helps Some	Important	Very Important
Employer considers valuable	0.2	30.6	21.0	22.5	25.6
Employer rewards	1.1	45.6	22.6	17.7	13.0
Factor in promotion	0.4	53.5	25.3	12.6	8.1
Factor in assignment	0.4	31.0	25.5	24.0	19.1

Translating this general awareness and positive evaluation of a foreign language competence into a tangible benefit in a company's reward structure is another thing, however. Almost half of the alumni say that it is totally irrelevant to the reward system in general, more than half say that it has no bearing on promotion, and only 8 percent say that a foreign language competence brings extra pay. Foreign language competence in the business world seems to be like good teaching in research universities: everyone is in favor of it, but detecting its influence on promotion, pay, or other dividends of the reward structure is difficult.

For a better look at the job relevance of foreign language competence, we asked the alumni to do two things. First, we asked them to rate the importance of their foreign language competence to various aspects of their job. Second, we asked them to indicate the frequency with which they were called upon to use that competence in various situations. Table 21.7 indicates the American alumni's responses.

In none of the activities do half or more of the alumni consider a knowledge of a foreign language important or very important. Most striking are the more than 50 percent who believe a foreign language competence is irrelevant in labor management and the

Table 21.7: Importance of Use of Foreign Language in Various Business Activities

	Level of Importance (percentage of respondents)				
Activity	Handicap	Irrelevant	Helps Some	Important	Very Important
Accounting	1.3	62.8	15.5	10.5	10.0
Negotiations	0.5	47.4	18.2	15.1	18.8
Financial planning	0.8	65.7	15.9	8.4	9.2
Labor management	0.7	59.0	10.1	15.8	14.4
Marketing	—	41.5	21.7	19.1	17.6
Sales	—	40.1	20.7	15.7	23.5
Social interaction	—	25.7	24.5	17.5	32.5
Meetings	0.3	46.2	17.3	14.3	22.0
Telephone	0.3	32.3	21.5	13.8	32.1

Table 21.8: Frequency of Use of Foreign Language (percentage of respondents)

	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	All the Time
In the office	17.5	37.5	31.3	13.8
During travel	9.1	59.1	24.1	7.7
At home	9.5	52.3	27.7	10.5

40 percent who so rate it for marketing and for participation in business meetings. Accounting and financial planning are believed to be the least affected by a foreign language competence, two areas that attract a substantial number of the graduates of international business programs.

Table 21.8 indicates the importance of a foreign language in another way: the frequency with which it is used by the respondent in a variety of settings.

Given the low value of foreign language instruction in the reward system, the relatively low importance attached to competence for many business activities, and the low frequency of use in commonly occurring situations, alumni must wonder whether the time and energy invested in studying a foreign language in the international business program were well spent.

Corporate Foreign Language Environment

This picture of the limited use of the foreign language competencies of the American international business majors can be understood by looking a little more closely at the corporate environment in which they operate. First of all, these alumni tend to work for U.S.-based companies: 90.7 percent of their employers have their headquarters in the United States. More generally, the international business majors are not likely to encounter a foreign language on the job. Two-thirds of the alumni report that virtually all communication in the corporations is in English; 91.0 percent say English is the language most frequently used at headquarters; and 90.0 percent say that almost all communications overseas are in English as well.

Most telling, however, is the fact that the American international business majors tend to be posted not abroad, where their foreign language skills might have greater immediate relevance, but in the United States. Table 21.9 indicates the current place of work of the American alumni.

It will be noted that only 11 percent of the American business majors were stationed abroad. About a quarter of all graduates of the three programs were posted abroad at the time of the survey, but most of them were foreign students returning to their homeland with an American business degree. Clearly, the American international business majors are currently not being used where their language competencies would have greater value, in overseas positions. Nor is this situation likely to improve in the near future. There is currently a downward trend in the placement of all American executives overseas. One of the reasons for the lack of the utilization of American international business majors in overseas assignments is that corporations are sending fewer and fewer of their personnel abroad in any event.[6] There are a number of reasons for this trend, but one is very persuasive. The cost to an employer of sending an executive to Great Britain for the first year averages $300,000, and in other countries, such as Japan, and for more senior executives, the figure could easily approach $1 million. It is not surprising that the number of executives of American companies stationed abroad is steadily declining, and it is unlikely that this trend will be reversed in the near future.

Aside from the small proportion of American international business graduates who were posted abroad, the distribution of those graduates among the various countries is interesting. First, it should be noted how wide the dispersal is: they are assigned to 23

Table 21.9: Current Address of Alumni

Continent	Number	Percentage
North America	442	89.1
United States	441	88.9
Canada	1	0.2
Latin America	10	2.0
Brazil	4	0.8
Colombia	1	0.2
Costa Rica	1	0.2
Ecuador	1	0.2
Mexico	1	0.2
Puerto Rico	2	0.4
Europe	27	5.4
Austria	1	0.2
Belgium	3	0.6
Denmark	1	0.2
France	5	1.0
Germany	11	2.2
Great Britain	4	0.8
Netherlands	1	0.2
Switzerland	1	0.2
Middle East	1	0.2
Saudi Arabia	1	0.2
South Asia	1	0.2
Pakistan	1	0.2
Southeast Asia	1	0.2
Philippines	1	0.2
East Asia	13	2.6
China	2	0.4
Taiwan	2	0.4
Hong Kong	3	0.6
Japan	6	1.2
Oceania, miscellaneous	1	0.2
New Zealand	1	0.2
Total	496	100.0

different countries. But 50.0 percent are stationed in Europe and another 18.5 percent in Latin America. Other areas are only very lightly touched, and Africa and Eastern Europe not at all.

Overseas Assignments and Language Utilization

The lack of overseas assignments has a particularly negative effect on foreign language utilization. The American international business graduates who were assigned abroad gave a higher value to foreign language competence and reported using it more than those resident in the United States. Table 21.10 compares domestically posted alumni

Table 21.10: Importance and Use of Foreign Language by Alumni in the United States and Abroad (percentage of respondents)

	Assignment	
	U.S.	Abroad
Importance in finding first job		
Handicap	1.0	0.0
Irrelevant	34.0	9.8
Helps some	27.9	17.6
Important	15.2	11.8
Very important	21.9	60.8
How valuable an employer considers foreign language use to be		
Handicap	0.2	0.0
Irrelevant	34.0	3.8
Helps some	22.7	7.5
Important	21.8	28.3
Very important	21.3	60.4
Relevance of foreign language to reward system		
Handicap	1.2	0.0
Irrelevant	49.4	14.0
Helps some	22.9	20.0
Important	16.2	30.0
Very important	10.3	36.0
Factor in promotions		
Handicap	0.5	0.0
Irrelevant	56.6	28.0
Helps some	25.4	24.0
Important	11.8	20.0
Very important	5.8	28.0
Does foreign language competence attract extra pay?		
Yes	7.2	14.3
Change in competence level		
Decreased	12.4	7.5
Decreased somewhat	43.5	20.8
Stayed same	24.0	7.5
Increased somewhat	14.0	26.4
Increased greatly	6.2	37.7

Note: All of the differences shown in the table are statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level.

and those posted overseas with respect to the importance and degree of use of a foreign language in various job-related aspects.

In examining these comparisons, several things are clear. First, it should be noted that the contrast is by no means discrete. There were alumni who remained in the United States but still gave a high importance to and reported great use of foreign language skills, and there were alumni working abroad who did not. Second, even allowing for this overlap, however, it is clear that foreign assignment greatly increases the value and the use of foreign language skills. While there was still a sharp differential between statements of the general importance of foreign language skills and receiving payoffs for them in the official reward system, in every category those stationed abroad reported a higher value for and use of foreign language skills. Those on foreign assignment also had a better chance of retaining or increasing the language skill they left graduate school with.

CONCLUSION

The implications of these data are clear. Even when a deliberate effort is made on the part of individuals and universities to train specialists with combined business, international studies, and foreign language skills, the utilization of the foreign languages in the corporate workplace is limited. To a considerable extent, this situation is a function of the English-language-bound culture of the corporations that hire them and of the limited and declining practice of posting Americans abroad, where foreign language skills are more likely to be used.

This situation does not seem likely to change in the near future. Even when far-seeing corporate leaders express regret about the lack of cosmopolitanism in American business in general, individual corporations, even those from which the chief executive officer who voices such regrets comes, tend to preserve the old corporate culture. That culture is not likely to create the kind of environment that will effectively use the special skills, particularly foreign language skills, that international business majors bring to the job market.

It may be that in the long run the demands of the international environment and the availability of executive trainees with first-rate education in all three of the skill areas—foreign language, business, and international studies—will create an increased demand for and utilization of foreign language skills. To do so, they must alter the corporate culture in a way that both encourages overseas posting of executives and adapts company practice to a more multilingual operating style. In the short run, these data suggest that the current English-oriented, domestic-assignment tradition of American corporations is winning out.

NOTES

1. "Americans Get Low Grades in Gallup Geography Test" (Washington, DC: News Service of the National Geographic Society, July 1988).

2. This literature is reviewed in Richard D. Lambert, *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986), pp. 31–38.

3. Carol S. Fixman, *The Foreign Language Needs of U.S.-Based Corporations*, National Foreign Language Center Occasional Paper Series (Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center, 1989).

4. See Thomas S. Barrows et al., *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding* (New Rochelle, NY: Change Magazine Press, 1981), p. 128; Richard D. Lambert, *International Studies and the Undergraduate* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1989), pp. 65–69.

5. See John Thanopoulos, ed., *International Business Curricula: A Global Survey* (Waco, TX: Academy of International Business, 1986).

6. Joann S. Lublin, "Grappling with the Expatriate Issue," *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 11, 1989.

22
Beyond Growth: Conclusions

To summarize the points raised in the foregoing discussion, we herewith extract the statement of the problems uncovered in the course of the investigation and the recommendations for solving those problems.* They are presented under the headings utilized in the text so that the full discussion on each of these points can be referred to.

SUMMARY OF PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Language Competency

TWO SYSTEMS OF INSTRUCTION

Problem: Two parallel systems of instruction in the uncommonly taught languages have grown up, one within the government agencies and one on the campuses. While they serve somewhat different purposes and do so within different institutional contexts, they can be mutually supportive. There are no established mechanisms for sharing problems and solutions.

Recommendation: A series of national conferences of government and academic language teachers should be convened on an annual basis for each of the major language families. Their purpose would be to share information about problems, pedagogical technology, and materials. The hosts would be the Inter-Agency Language Roundtable on the government side, and on the academic side one or more of the national organizations, such as the Center for Applied Linguistics, the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages, or the Modern Language Association, and the professional organizations of the teachers of each language.

SUSTAINING EXISTING NATIONAL RESOURCES

Problem: The cost of teaching low-density languages is increasingly difficult to justify in traditional administrative budgetary terms. The basic reason for high costs is small and decentralized demand for instruction by students who require high-level language skills for research and other purposes. Some coverage of all languages is needed.

Recommendation: A supplemental national support program should be devised to assure the continuation of our capacity to teach the least commonly taught languages on our campuses. Some Title VI funds should be specifically earmarked for this purpose instead of coming out of the 16% of general center support currently allocated for language instruction. Each major center receiving support should be required to cover at a minimum one of the least commonly taught languages relating to its area, with careful attention to complementarity both within the program and nationally. In addition, partially supported posts to sustain instruction in languages that are judged to be critical to the national interest would be open to national competition; be subject to sharing with an institution or set of institutions; and be contingent upon the development of a national cooperative plan for the maintenance and sharing of instruction in the least commonly taught languages for each area studies group.

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* Reprinted from *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies*, by Richard D. Lambert with Elinor G. Barber, Margaret B. Merrill, Eleanor Jorden, and Leon I. Twarog (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Universities, April 1984), ch. 7.

We would, however, postpone expansion into new languages until some of the issues discussed below are dealt with.

AREA STUDY GROUP DIFFERENCES

Problem: The needs, resources, and problems of instruction in the various languages are quite different. Hence, any next-stage planning must be tailored to the special needs of each area group. Simultaneous attention to all languages is not practical.

Recommendation: Experimental programs for upgrading campus-based language instruction should begin with Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and Arabic.

A COMMON METRIC OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Problem: In the academic training system, there is now no standardized way of measuring an individual's language skills. This impedes efficient articulation across the levels of training and certification of an individual's skill level. Furthermore, the differential effectiveness of pedagogical styles and teaching materials cannot be established.

Recommendation: A major effort should be undertaken, within both the Department of Defense and the campus-based teaching systems for the less commonly taught languages, to develop a common, proficiency-based metric. These efforts should be carried on in a parallel fashion within the various teaching establishments to ensure their maximal applicability to the particular needs of each institution and language. But efforts should be coordinated on the government side by a committee of the Inter-Agency Language Roundtable, and on the academic side by existing coordinating institutions and organizations such as the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages, the Center for Applied Linguistics, and the area-specific language teaching organizations where expertise can be assembled. In addition, special efforts must be made to assure the widespread use of existing tests and those to be developed. Once these measures are adopted, basic research on the effectiveness of various teaching strategies needs to be encouraged.

RAISING LEVELS OF LANGUAGE COMPETENCY

Problem: High-level competency in the less commonly taught languages is difficult to achieve and maintain, and the number of Americans who have done so is too small. The competency of many presumed language and area specialists is inadequate. Too many students are graduating with too low a level of language competency.

Recommendation: The next stage of development in language and area studies should include specific measures to raise the general standard of language competencies throughout the field, and, in the case of the best students, provide both the time and the facilities for truly advanced language competencies to be acquired. As a goal, all students accepted for the most advanced language and area training should show by performance on a standard proficiency test a minimal level 2 proficiency. For some area studies groups, this may require an interim transitional stage to allow time for approaching that norm, but goals should be set now.

Continuous and more extensive funding should be provided to support existing overseas advanced language training centers, and to enable more students to attend them. An effort should be made to establish such facilities in world areas where they do not now exist.

A collaborative effort involving both academic and government language teachers should be launched to develop satisfactory teaching technologies for raising listening and speaking proficiency to the higher skill levels.

SERVING DIVERSE CLIENTELES

Problem: Too little is known about ways in which language learning styles and needs of individuals are best matched with pedagogical approaches. It is fairly certain that the format and timing of present campus-based instruction is optimal for only a limited group of learners, mainly initial learners.

Recommendation: A major collaborative effort involving both the academic and the government language teaching worlds should be launched to conduct the necessary basic research and to develop satisfactory programs to maintain, reinforce, restore, and upgrade the language competencies of the existing cadre of language and area specialists.

Funds should be allocated for research, experimentation, and initial program development to make available instruction in the less commonly taught languages to a geographically dispersed clientele, to learners other than degree-seeking students.

IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION AND FUNDING

Problem: Pluralistic efforts to deal with the achievement of high-level language proficiency and coverage of languages can achieve only limited results.

Recommendation: Support is recommended to establish a set of special language instruction resource centers to stimulate and coordinate innovative work in language teaching.

THE LACK OF FUNDING

Problem: Those funds necessary to carry out many of the tasks indicated above are currently not available anywhere in the federal government or among the private foundations.

Recommendation: A federal fund should be created that is specifically charged with the support of research and program development in language pedagogy. This fund can be channeled through existing organizations, but the efforts of these organizations must be coordinated so that a coherent policy serving the national interest can be devised and implemented. Should the current definitions of mission of the existing agencies make this impossible, a new, centrally administered fund must be created.

RECAPITULATION—AN ACTION PLAN FOR LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

1. Develop a common metric that is language-performance-oriented and calibrated for all levels of fluency. Equally important is encouraging the adoption of this common metric on as wide a basis as possible on campuses, throughout the government, and by other employers.

2. Give special emphasis to the achievement of more advanced skills—oral as well as written—than is commonly the case now. This task calls for the establishment of new norms of acceptable language competency in those area studies groups in which they are currently low; for the creation of new pedagogical styles and learning situations that emphasize higher-level skills; and for longer-term fellowship programs that make it possible for students to acquire those skills.

3. Supplement the existing campus-based organizational style for language instruction. This task will include an increased use of intensive year-long, semester, or summer courses in which only language skills are taught; the creation of teaching facilities and materials to deal with language skill maintenance and upgrading for the existing stock of specialists; the development of the capacity to teach students who cannot reside physically at major centers of language instruction or who need to proceed at their own pace; and the creation of learning opportunities for those other than regular students who need to learn a language outside the normal academic format.

4. Create a series of campus-based language teaching resource centers, linked to a central coordinating body. This network will assemble technical resources; conduct basic and applied research; help prepare and evaluate teaching materials and approaches; train teachers; administer tests needed for accrediting students and teachers; conduct prototype intensive language instruction programs; and maintain a capacity to provide, on demand, instruction in the least commonly taught languages not available elsewhere. It will also act as liaison between the campus-based efforts and those of the Department of Defense and other government and private language teaching enterprises.

5. Provide the financial resources necessary to conduct sustained research and experimentation in language pedagogy. A special fund should be established either within an existing granting program or as a distinct funding program.

Area Competency

AREALITY IN TRAINING

Problem: Area training has been too heavily concentrated in the disciplinary departments, so that students becoming area specialists cannot develop broad perspectives or professional skills as components of their expertise.

Recommendation: Area training should include a substantial amount of area-specific work in the discipline in which a student is specializing, plus supplemental area-specific work in other disciplines outside the major, and either classical or modern training, depending on which period complements the primary emphasis.

SPECIAL COST OF TRAINING

Problem: The need for experience overseas and the breadth and long duration of training mean that students training to become area specialists need more money to complete their training than non-area-oriented students.

Recommendation: The amount of support to graduate students in area studies should reflect the special requirements of their training. It should include sufficient funds for a mid-training sojourn in the area; advanced language training in the country where the language is spoken; a sojourn to carry out dissertation research; a period of time to write up research findings; and post-doctoral research.

Funds for the first two or three years of training should be provided through centers; thereafter, funds should be awarded through national competitions. In the national competitions, language proficiency and general area knowledge will be rewarded. Nationally competitive awards should be portable and should carry with them appropriate institutional fees.

DISCIPLINARY IMBALANCES

Problem: The disciplinary distribution of specialists and students training to be specialists is skewed. Specialists tend to be underrepresented in the social sciences—especially economics, sociology, and psychology—and in the applied disciplines that may be most directly relevant to public policy. The conditions underlying these imbalances are self-perpetuating.

Recommendation: To assure at least replacement of the present stock of specialists with scarce disciplinary–area skill combinations, a set of apprentice fellowships should be put at the disposal of eminent scholars for students wishing to enter these specialties. These mentors should be selected by distinguished national panels. The students in turn would be selected from a national pool of applicants by these mentors. As in the case of the advanced fellowships described in the previous section, these apprentice fellowships would be of four years' duration, flexible and portable—at the discretion of the mentors—both domestically and abroad, and would carry appropriate institutional fees.

To expand the corps of specialists, established scholars should be enabled to acquire language and area skills or new country competencies, as in the International Research and Exchanges Board dual-competency program. For newly trained specialists within applied or professional disciplinary fields, sufficient resources should be invested to allow for the acquisition of both a fully developed disciplinary or technical skill, and a high degree of language and area competency.

EFFECTIVE DEMAND AND NATIONAL NEED FOR SPECIALISTS

Problem: Effective demand for area specialists in terms of job opportunities is decreasing, at the same time that the national need for high-quality specialists continues.

Recommendation: The number of fellowships for new entrants into the field should be reduced and made highly selective. The savings from this reduction, plus any additional resources necessary, should be used for the establishment of the proposed nationally competitive, longer-term, portable, flexible fellowship, and for the fellowships specially earmarked for missing or endangered components in the national resource base.

A pressing agenda for the field is to explore ways to bring national need and effective demand into closer agreement.

Research

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH

Problem: Research aims on the campus are too limited. Scholars do not expect to be able to obtain funding for large-scale, collaborative, multi-year projects; they therefore tend not to think of their own research in these terms and do not pursue funding beyond that necessary to cover their own salary and possible travel costs.

Recommendation: To encourage the development of the larger-scale, longer-term research that would draw in a number of faculty members and help to train students, Title VI should be amended to include a small research fund for each center to cover the early phases of major project generation, and support for students to gain experience in research apprenticeships. In addition, more funding for larger-scale research should be made available and more faculty members should be apprised of the strategy of applying for and administering major grants.

ACADEMIC COVERAGE OF THE RESEARCH PRODUCT

Problem: Left to the unconstrained preferences of scholars, research coverage—in either geographic or disciplinary terms or both—has important gaps.

Recommendation: An organization or organizations should be identified and a procedure established to monitor the cross-sectional research product of language and area studies; to identify countries and topics that the laissez-faire selection of research topics has missed; and to disperse and administer funds to fill in those gaps.

POLICY RELEVANCE AND UTILIZATION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Problem: There are important substantive domains and types of research with a direct relevance to national policy decisions that are not getting enough attention from language and area specialists, nor are federal agencies disposed to use the research that is produced.

Recommendation: The organization(s) given responsibility for monitoring and supplementing the general substantive coverage of research by language and area studies specialists should be charged with special attention to and funding for policy-relevant research. This research, while remaining basic or contextual in nature, will address some of the broad policy issues facing the nation. In the meantime, Part B of Title VI should be extended to include basic research relevant to the general policy interests of American business abroad.

FUNDING AGENCY COVERAGE OF RESEARCH

Problem: The narrowly focused missions of the various government research funding agencies are responsible, in part, for the imbalances and lacunae in the research product.

Recommendation: Funds should be provided to encourage research on topics that are currently not receiving attention. Three research domains of high priority are 1) large- and medium-scale collaborative research in both the social sciences and the humanities;

2) research on broadly defined policy-relevant topics; and 3) research relating to language teaching in the less commonly taught languages. Support can be channeled through existing organizations, like the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Department of Education, the Department of State, or the Smithsonian Institution, but with funds clearly earmarked and awarded in special competitions. Title VI should be amended if necessary to permit the provision of a small general fund to each center, to be used for project development.

If the current pattern of agency granting of research funds is continued, then a central organization monitoring the effects of funding patterns on the cross-section of the research product should be created. If serious imbalances and gaps persist, a separate endowment to provide funds for international research should be created.

ACCESS TO OVERSEAS RESEARCH SITES

Problem: Despite the existence of a durable network of trans-national scholarly contacts, access to research sites has become increasingly difficult to negotiate in many countries, and in some countries, the sponsorship of research by the Department of Defense may make access impossible.

Recommendation: A major review should be undertaken of the obstacles to research access in other countries, with a view to establishing bilateral mutual agreements to counter the deteriorating situation.

Direct Department of Defense funding of overseas research should be done with great care and openness, and should be confined to those countries and situations where scholarly access to research sites will not as a consequence be threatened.

Campus-Based and National Organizations

CAMPUS-BASED CENTERS

Problem: Federal funding under Title VI has provided crucial flexible support for the collective activities of campus-based language and area studies programs. But the effectiveness of this support has been eroded by inflation, by the brevity of the grant cycle, by shifting selection criteria based on policy swings within the Department of Education, and by periodic efforts to abolish the program.

Recommendation: A general, flexible support program, such as that contained in the current Title VI program, should be continued, since it is essential for the well-being of the field. A major criterion in the provision of such federal support should be evidence of a strong and continuing university commitment.

Center support should be on a five-year cycle, with staggered competitions, to allow adding to or deleting from the existing pool of federally supported centers in interim years.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN CENTER SUPPORT

Problem: The laissez-faire system of program support under Title VI has served well the growth stage of language and area studies, but does not encourage the building of new strengths in substantive domains of great national importance.

Recommendation: A number of supplemental centers or center segments should be established via national competition, to focus their research and teaching on relatively neglected aspects in the internal development of language and area studies, such as 1) language pedagogy; 2) the special demands of successful undergraduate education for nonspecialists; and 3) policy-relevant issues of special concern to business and to the mission-oriented federal agencies. For the latter purposes, funding from those agencies should be provided.

THE NUMBER OF CENTERS

Problem: At the present time, there is no rational basis, other than the amount of money appropriated, to determine how many centers the federal government should support.

Recommendation: Decisions to change substantially the number of centers supported under Title VI should be postponed until the role of centers is redefined; some degree of specialization is developed; criteria of national coverage can be applied; and more rigorous screening, including indications of the level of competency of students graduating from the program and institutional commitment, can be introduced. Any interim shifts in support should reduce the number no lower than the former lowest level of four to six programs per world area.

SELECTION AND MONITORING

Problem: The present style of competition for Title VI centers is not suitable for specialized centers.

Recommendation: The center-monitoring process should be expanded, with sufficient staff who have experience in on-campus language and area centers and who are given sufficient travel funds to measure proposed activities against on-campus reality; to carry out regular and ad hoc evaluations; and to conduct pinpointed planning studies. This statistical evaluation and planning center can be either sustained in-house, or contracted out. If the latter, it is essential that the results of its work be closely tied to the policy process.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Problem: A number of organizations at the national level serve various collective needs of one or another aspect of the field, but they are not included in any durable funding program that addresses the needs of language and area studies.

Recommendation: A major review should be initiated to determine as precisely as possible what areas of redundancy and gaps there are in the collective needs of the field at the national or regional level. An overall strategy needs to be developed for assuring that these services are performed. Developing a substantial, durable source of funding for these organizations that fulfill essential overhead functions for the field is a high priority.

Library and Information Services

RESOURCE SHARING BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND UNIVERSITIES

Problem: Except for the activities of the Library of Congress, there is almost no sharing of information storage and library resources across the academic/government divide.

Recommendation: A task force and survey team should be established to review the current status and the possibilities for future development of mutual support and interfacing between academic and government library and information storage systems.

THE CENTER PERSPECTIVE

Staffing needs

Problem: Acquisitions has expanded without the requisite expansion of staff to service the collections.

Recommendation: Specially earmarked funds for library staff salaries should be added to current Title VI allocations to centers.

Together with a national organization such as the Council on Library Resources, area studies librarians should develop a curriculum for new or supplemental training to upgrade their skills and to learn the new information technologies that are becoming increasingly important for research universities.

Backlog of foreign language materials

Problem: The normal processes of cataloguing new acquisitions create time lags and gaps in the availability of area-relevant materials, particularly those in the languages indigenous to the various regions.

Recommendation: Pilot projects should be launched to determine the nature and the scale of cataloguing lags and gaps, and the best method or combination of methods to reduce them both retrospectively and prospectively.

Special costs of acquiring foreign language materials

Problem: As in cataloguing, there are special difficulties in area-related acquisitions that the current general library acquisition strategies are not adequately handling.

Recommendation: Each area studies group should explore the special problems of acquisitions as they relate to the countries with which they are concerned, and draw up collective plans for ensuring the flow of acquisitions, particularly those such as government and academic publications that tend to escape the normal acquisition process.

THE LIBRARY ADMINISTRATOR'S VIEW

Problem: Area-related collections present special problems, both in their growing size and in processing and management costs. At the same time, they are too marginal to the general collection, and their utilization rates are too low, to justify continued expansion of uncommitted university resources for them.

Recommendation: A major review of problems with the area-related collections should be made, but from the perspective of the universities and general librarians in addition to the specialists attached to those collections.

THE NATIONAL VIEW

A strategy for collaboration and complementarity of resources

Problem: Redundancy in area-related collections, coupled with rising costs and increases in the volume of materials to be acquired and stored, makes it urgent that plans be developed for complementarity and shared resources among universities.

Recommendation: Language and area specialists must participate actively in the ongoing efforts of the national library networks to develop mechanisms for a division of labor and collaboration in the development of collections; and they must make their own supplemental plans. To these ends, a special task force ought to be created within each area studies group to engage in such planning. Preceding that planning, a number of studies of patterns of use of the collections should be undertaken.

Adapting non-Roman scripts to the computerized network

Problem: The problems of computer management of non-Roman scripts must be solved before full inclusion of area-related collections in the current bibliographic and shared cataloguing arrangements can be assured.

Recommendation: Those area studies groups where the indigenous languages use a non-Roman script should work with the national library networks to adapt those scripts so that they can be entered into the general computerized bibliographic and information-sharing facilities.

Inventory of existing overseas bibliographic services and databases

Problem: While one of the most promising developments in cooperative information storage and retrieval is the combination of bibliographic information with access to ongoing data bases, a systematic review of overseas sources that might be added to such computer-accessed systems has not been made.

Recommendation: Language and area specialists should conduct an inventory of existing bibliographic services and data bases with reference to the countries of their specialization, with an eye toward including them in existing library network facilities.

Preservation of materials

Problem: Materials in the collections are already deteriorating or are in danger of deterioration. A strategy for systematic preservation must be devised.

Recommendation: Funds and efforts should be marshaled by the language and area studies centers to develop, in collaboration with the national library organizations, a phased plan to begin the process of preserving existing materials in the area-relevant collections that are in danger of deterioration.

Monitoring our national library and information resources

Problem: Efforts scattered throughout the language and area community and directed at some or all of these problems will be maximally productive only if they are coordinated and fitted into an overall plan for the next development stage for language and area studies.

Recommendation: To monitor progress in the various problem areas and to help coordinate effort, a central monitoring and coordinating facility should be created. It would include not only representatives of the various area studies groups, but those in charge of libraries as a whole and representatives of the major national library organizations.

FUNDING

This report's recommendations for new programs or modification of existing programs call for a relatively small amount of additional funding. Indeed, they present a low-cost, high-leverage strategy that will both secure the existing national resources in language and area studies built up at such great expense, and enable them to reach more fully the national interest goals originally set for them: to train high-quality students to an advanced level of language and area competency, and to produce a systematic body of knowledge on other countries to inform our educational system, the public, and the makers of our national policy.

In the letter transmitting this report to the Department of Defense, we have recommended that it play a direct role in funding the supplemental programs having to do with improving instruction in the less commonly taught languages, with the enhancement of library resources, and with the expansion of support for research, mainly in Soviet, West European, and East Asian studies. The recommendations in those sections of the report, as well as those in other sections, are addressed to other federal agencies as well, and to the private foundations, many of which are already providing some support in one or another of these areas.

Considered as a whole, these individual recommendations add up to an integrated, internally consistent strategy for the next stage of language and area studies. Piecemeal, crablike movement is not likely to bring about the major transformation herein recommended, particularly if there is no collective planning, intelligent allocation of resources, and effective monitoring of the progress of the field. Accordingly, a more durable, dependable, and integrated federal funding strategy must be developed for the support of our national resource base in language and area studies. The individual missions of the various governmental agencies responsible for funding education and research do not collectively cover all the essential parts of language and area studies. Moreover, the swings in funding levels applied for and granted under the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and the Higher Education Act (HEA) Title VI have made long-range planning for language and area studies quite difficult. Whatever the ultimate level of funding, without an integrated, long-term strategy for support of the various aspects of language and area studies, this resource base is unlikely to fully serve the national interest, and will even slip away.

The time has come, therefore, to consider the creation of a central funding and administering body for language and area studies, and perhaps for other aspects of international studies. Such a body might be a separate endowment or foundation, paralleling the National Science Foundation and the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, or it might be appended to one of the existing governmental agencies. The Smithsonian Institution, with its mix of public and private funding and of domestic and overseas activities, is an especially attractive possibility. The growing international activities of the U.S. government should properly be called upon to provide some of the funds for such an endowment. In particular, in addition to earmarked annual appropriations from relevant agencies or directly from Congress, such a body should be supported by a share of monies flowing back into the U.S. Treasury from foreign loan repayments or from sales of military and other equipment abroad. In the private sector, the body should be eligible to receive some of the non-repatriatable profits held overseas by American business. The special purpose of the body would be to sustain our domestic and overseas investment in cosmopolitanizing our educational system and our society.

The report of the Advisory Board on International Education Programs in the Department of Education recently made a similar recommendation:

> A National Fund for International Education should be created. This Fund should receive a portion of the reflow funds generated by the overseas sale of U.S. Government military and other properties, and by interest payments on overseas technical assistance loans. In order to encourage contributions abroad from U.S. firms unable to repatriate profits, U.S. tax deductions should be permitted on contributions made to the Fund abroad by their foreign subsidiaries.[1]

We concur with this recommendation.

MONITORING

In addition to fuller, more coordinated funding, the next stage of language and area studies clearly calls for a better-monitored process of support than has been characteristic of the last several decades. So long as laissez-faire growth was appropriate, the current information system worked reasonably well, but this is not enough for the future growth of the field. The kinds of new programs outlined above call for a regular flow of detailed information on the cross-sectional nature of the field—the collective results of the decisions being made on individual campuses, and the ability to monitor and evaluate ongoing programs much more closely than can be done at present. We are not encouraged by the apparent decline in the monitoring capacity for the Title VI program within the Department of Education, and, moreover, our review indicates that many more aspects of language and area studies are now interfacing with government support programs that themselves require intensive monitoring and evaluation.

It is important to establish an independent monitoring, evaluation, and planning facility for language and area studies as a whole and for the federal programs that help sustain it. Such a facility would maintain the regular statistical series that are useful for planning and for the allocation of resources called for in many of the programs outlined above. It would also regularly administer the peer reviews of operating programs needed to supplement the written application and reporting materials that are now the sole source of information on their success. It would have the capacity to carry out ad hoc planning studies and evaluations as required. Such an evaluation and monitoring facility may operate on a contract basis from one or more of the federal agencies centrally concerned with language and area studies. Although its reporting should be responsive to public policy needs, it should stand administratively outside those agencies. Indeed, a mix of public and private support would enable the monitoring organization to serve the national interest more broadly.

What has been presented is a long and complex agenda. It is time to get on with it.

NOTE

1. *Critical Needs in International Education: Recommendations for Action* (Washington, DC: Department of Education, December 1983), p. 10.

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International Studies: An Overview and Agenda

The term "international studies" refers to a wide variety of activities whose common thread is that they relate to one or more countries outside of the United States and that they touch some aspect of our educational system.* International studies includes such diverse things as: Ph.D. training of economists specializing in China and elementary school Spanish lessons; a scholarly research center in Cairo and a teachers' workshop in Cincinnati; a Fulbright exchange program and an internship program for international business trainees; the influx of foreign students and a dissertation on the invention of the zero by ancient Indian grammarians; the training of Peace Corps volunteers and the collaboration of scientists working on the Man and the Biosphere project.

The many activities which are gathered under the rubric of international studies may be sorted into two classes: those that treat other countries as the objects of study, research, writing, or teaching; and those concerned with transnational linkages, the exchange of information, faculty, or students across national boundaries. Other topics in this category, for instance, technical assistance, the Peace Corps, or international scientific collaboration, are not covered here, although they are important elements in internationalizing the American educational system.

One reason for this delimitation is that the groups all share a common rationale, one that is not so central to the transnational linkages group. That rationale can be summarized simply: the world is becoming increasingly complex and interdependent; Americans are too parochial to continue to prosper in such a world; we must both produce experts who will advise us how to cope in this new multicentric world, and we must educate students and our citizenry more generally to understand the world we live in. That rationale appears in one form or another in what might be called the advocacy literature. It both binds together and divides the diverse activities illustrated in the preceding list. It binds them together in that it serves as a rallying point for temporary coalitions of individuals and organizations seeking increased funding and increased representation and resources on their campuses. It divides them in that it precipitates disagreements among them about the relative share of financial support that should go to one or another level of the education system, depending upon whether one emphasizes the production of experts or general education.

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* Reprinted from *New Directions in International Education*, ed. Richard D. Lambert, vol. 449 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (May 1980), pp. 151–64.

The Report of the Presidential Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies[1] and the discussion that followed the publication of the report illustrate this process.

The commission's report eloquently presents the central rationale of an interdependent world and American parochialism, then it prescribes the allocation of financial, principally federal, resources to each of the constituent clienteles. The follow-up discussions outside of the commission have engendered debates about distributive justice in the formulae allocating resources and the adequacy of the representation on the decision-making bodies of the various activities and interest groups.

Given the limited time available and the nature of the selection of the commission members, the advocacy task was well done, as were similar deliberations leading up to the passage of the International Education Act. Unfortunately, however, this method of what I call grantotropic central planning, that is, periodic marshalling of constituencies and arguments for enhanced federal support, does not attend to the pressing need for rationalization and redirection of effort within the field itself and the development of more concrete objectives and criteria for evaluation of successes and failures in international studies. Above all, it does not provide for the articulation of the roles to be played by the different groups at the various levels of the educational system. For these purposes, we need to set an internal agenda, defined, at least in the beginning, without reference to funding; we need a freshly conceived rationale that recognizes the immense growth that has taken place in the field; and we need a careful taxonomy and coordinating strategy that fits the parts of the field together in a more mutually supportive, interactive, less competitive fashion.

It remains to be seen whether any of these previously mentioned tasks will be accomplished by the public and private national advisory committees about to be established. Past experience would indicate that they, too, are likely to emphasize issues of general advocacy and funding, and yet another opportunity will be missed to carry out the kind of integrative planning and evaluation so essential to the health of the field. To illustrate the point, it might be helpful to indicate what some of the more obvious agenda items for the field would be.

SPECIALISTS

First of all, one of the central motifs of the collective rationale I spoke of earlier is that the United States has too few experts who are competent to follow and interpret events in other countries. This is particularly true when we count only experts who have a high level of skill in one or more of the languages of a country or region. This became painfully obvious in World War II, when Sputnik went up, and in Vietnam, Iran, and Afghanistan. To remedy this shortage, the nation set about creating a corps of specialists.

Early academic and foundation attention was placed on assisting universities to create and sustain this corps. In view of the scarcity, the emphasis was quickly placed on the recruitment and training of as many specialists as possible. The subsequent enactment of the National Defense Education Act, and the decision to place the implementation of that strategy in the U.S. Office of Education, rather than, say, the

Department of State, the National Science Foundation, or the National Endowment for the Humanities, reinforced this emphasis on the training of new specialists rather than sustaining and raising the competency of and increasing the effectiveness of the existing corps.

For 30 years, the overwhelming emphasis was on the creation of new specialists. I do not mean to suggest that there is no need for training new specialists. Country and disciplinary coverage is quite uneven. Retirement, attrition, and expansion into new levels of the educational system require that the continual training of a fresh supply of experts be continued. However, one by-product of this single-minded emphasis on the production of more and more specialists was to make the field unduly susceptible to the body count as the only criterion of success. Questions about depth and distribution, and especially language competency, were put aside. Questions about the credentials of the existing stock were rarely raised, and certainly very little was done to inhibit attrition, either by losses to the field of people formerly engaged in it or by the decay of competencies among people remaining in it. The need to expand kept bringing more and more people in laterally, many of them presumed experts whose level of competency was marginal. It also meant that many of these new "experts" were primarily trained in a discipline; their area of expertise comprised a very light patina of area and language courses.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the general decline in the academic market for all Ph.D.'s and several unpromising surveys by the Rand Corporation[2] and others of nonacademic demand were so threatening to the field.

CENTERS

In the same vein, it is time we took another look at the center as a way of organizing activity in the field. I have always been surprised that what was to me the most interesting part of the Language and Area Studies Review,[3] the analysis of programs and centers, has received so little attention.

In spite of this seeming lack of interest in what constitutes good and bad centers, it is curious how strongly oriented the field seems to be to the center as the major organizational device for carrying on international studies activities. For instance, throughout the Presidential Commission's Report centers, old ones and new ones, are recommended to solve almost every problem. Even when the purpose is to diffuse an activity as widely as possible throughout the United States, the proposed solution is the creation of 50 centers, one in each state. Individuals appear in the report rarely, and yet as the field develops it is more and more dominated by "loners," many of them scattered off by themselves or in small, unorganized clusters in a wide variety of schools, colleges, and universities. Linking them to the resources of centers is at least as high a priority item as the establishment of new centers.

There is another thing about the field's approach to centers which is curious. The central rationale of the field has emphasized unduly only one of the many functions that centers have come to perform, that is, training of the new specialists. As a result, very little attention has been paid to many other functions which the best of them perform and by which their utility should be judged. Among these functions are the following:

1. Infusing international perspectives into the general education portion of the undergraduate curriculum.
2. Informing the scholarly, didactic, and public discourse through their research and writing.
3. Maintaining a core cadre of language, country, and substantive specialists for use in time of national need.
4. Assembling and sustaining the overhead resources necessary for long-term runs of periodicals and newspapers, overseas research and training stations.
5. Promoting continuous interaction between humanistic and social science scholars in the United States and other parts of the world.
6. Providing leverage points on our campuses for the general cosmopolitanization of higher education.
7. Helping to diffuse their knowledge to the other levels of the educational system and to the general public.

It is a little curious, or perhaps not so curious in view of the seeming obsession of the U.S. Office of Education and the field with manpower, that only the last of these functions has found its way into the recent criteria for judging the value of centers. Furthermore, this emphasis on training more and more specialists and on reaching more and more clienteles means that the most obvious criterion for judging the success of centers is almost never applied. This criterion is whether the collection of scholars and teachers in a center adds something beyond what they contribute as individuals. Do they interact to create a whole greater than the parts? Which centers have cohesion, durability, and collective vitality, and which are paper coalitions who are unified facing their funding sources but segmented and individual facing each other and their students? In short, we need a more careful consideration of the functions of centers and the criteria by which their usefulness should be judged.

GENERAL EDUCATION

In spite of the fact that in the campus economy it is undergraduate enrollments that make possible the continued support of advanced research study programs, surprisingly little systematic attention has been paid to the effectiveness of international studies courses offered to nonspecialists.

The clienteles for international studies, in order of numerical predominance, are as follows: first, undergraduates taking one or two internationally oriented courses as part of their general education; second, undergraduates majoring in one of the social science or humanities disciplines; third, a larger set of courses taken by undergraduate students specializing in international studies; fourth, one or two courses taken by graduate students with disciplinary majors; and finally, a course mix for the graduate training of international studies specialists. Attention and planning have surely been in reverse order, starting with the international studies specialist and dwindling to unbenign neglect at the level of general education. Curiously enough, when the U.S. Office of Education began to curtail their support of specialist training centers in favor of "outreach," they followed the self-definitions of function characteristic of the field and defined outreach to mean service to secondary and primary schools or the education of citizens, skipping over the lower division college students. The Presidential Commission Report seems to make the same jump.

The Council on Learning project makes up some of that imbalance. Here are some other items for our agenda. The first item is the specification of the appropriate content of internationally oriented, general education courses. There is a tendency to construct such courses as if they were training disciplinary majors or specialists-to-be. They are full of description and scholasticism. If general education, that is, teaching the student to imagine himself in the shoes of someone in another culture—what might be called transnational empathy—can be taught at all, it is surely more durable than is the easily forgotten factual information and time-bound disciplinary conceptualization; most students have no intention of becoming specialists. To be more effective in our lower division courses, then we must develop course material and teaching strategies aimed at new, more effective mixes of descriptive material, disciplinary perspective, and empathy.

The second agenda item is how to combine what might be called a concentrative approach with a diffusive approach, that is, diffusing international materials as widely as possible throughout the curriculum as contrasted with creating specialized courses wholly dealing with international subject matter. The latter strategy fits more easily into our current procedures for curricular innovation and calls for the least amount of leverage on the general curriculum. It has, however, several limitations.

One of these limitations is that unless such courses are required of all students, they tend to reach only a small proportion of the student body. In a recent check at my own university where there is a large complement of international studies courses and faculty, we examined the transcripts of a representative sample of A.B.'s and found that only about 10 percent of the graduating class had ever taken an internationally focused course. If we really want to make a dent upon the outlook of a substantial number of our students, we will have to reach more of them, and this means adding an international component to a large number of courses, including those that are currently entirely domestic in their subject matter. This approach has two prerequisites: an institutional will to accomplish it, one shared by faculty and students, and a faculty with enough international competence to be able to provide professional-level instruction.

Faculty competence and enrichment is the subject of considerable literature and experimentation. I want to mention only two aspects. First, I have often found a curious inverse correlation between overseas experience and both the certainty with which a professor will speak of foreign matters and the level of generality at which he thinks it appropriate to deal with it. The second problem is how to harness the international traveling of cosmopolitan faculty to the education process. Somehow, faculty travel abroad has become part of professional and research activities, yet has little to do with their teaching. For the past decade we have witnessed the diaspora of the overseas experience; linking it to the education of students calls for a considerable effort.

The problem of the linkage of overseas experience with on-campus international education is not limited to faculty but extends to students. While many study abroad programs provide for preparatory instruction prior to a student's departure, very few help the student utilize the experience gained during his foreign sojourn in his studies after he returns to the campus.

A further agenda item in the international portion of the curriculum is surely a reconsideration of undergraduate language instruction. On many campuses the current system of course requirements withers before our eyes. Unfortunately, the role of language instruction is dying with it.

We must recast the role of languages on our campuses. The universally applied language requirement is not working, and where it is still enforced, it seems to corrupt the teaching process. Perhaps we ought to consider the motivation of the students and provide better instruction for the motivated without the dead weight of the reluctant premeds. Perhaps we should begin to specify genuine competence as a criterion of success and not just the number of semesters passed; evidence indicates relatively little correlation between the two.

Perhaps we should take language training out of the ghetto, that is, make it the responsibility of other sections of the campus as well as the language departments. Surely, if some professors in history, international relations, sociology, or economics began regularly to assign readings in some language other than their own, students might believe there was some point in learning a foreign language. Perhaps we should attend to the diffusion of a few more languages on our campuses other than French, Spanish, and German. The old argument for linking language instruction to our European heritage may no longer hold water.

If we believe our rhetoric that learning a language is an effective way to deparochialize our students and to give them an insiders' view on another culture—transnational empathy—then we ought to try to measure and demonstrate that effect and to show that this is a more effective way of doing it than are other alternatives. If we believe that a foreign language skill is a tool stored away for future use, then we should determine how much, if any, language skill remains a few years after schooling, and how we should teach it in the first place so that it is most durable. In short, all of international studies has a major stake in the reconceptualization of language instruction for general education.

The problem of internationalizing the general education portion of the undergraduate curriculum is especially difficult for the growing number of two-year junior and community colleges. They face the task without the ability and often the desire to maintain a staff of international specialists of sufficient scale. In other institutions such a staff is justified in terms of requirements of upper division majors and graduate students, clienteles missing from these institutions. Moreover, in many community colleges, the student body is least likely to be prepared for or interested in international studies. Hence, at this educational level, the need to create courses with fresh mixes of information, disciplinary approach, and transnational empathy is even more demanding, and the problems of inducing students to take them and of cosmopolitanizing the faculty's experience are even greater. The model of the four-year colleges and universities is, in many respects, just not applicable.

SECONDARY AND PRIMARY SCHOOL

The most active frontier for the expansion of international studies, active both in the immense growth in the number of programs and the activation of organizations dealing with educational planning, is in the secondary and primary schools. They face many of the problems described previously for the general education portion of the college undergraduate population and the junior and community colleges. They have, however, some special problems deriving from the numbers of teachers, schools, and students involved.

No matter how they are counted, higher educational institutions comprise only a few thousand institutions, a small fraction of the number of secondary and primary schools. Moreover, in higher education, it is possible for the internationalization of the instruction to flow from the experience of the faculty, and course content reflects the idiosyncratic interests of individual faculty members. On the other hand, the scale, dispersion, and degree of curricular standardization of secondary and primary school education mean that uniform curricular development and the creation and adoption of new teaching materials are much more important to the growth of international studies at this level than at the college and university level. For one thing, few teachers will get much, if any, direct overseas experience, particularly if we discount European tourism.

The resulting reliance upon teaching materials makes it imperative that a system be developed to accompany dispersed experimentation in teaching materials and curricula with rapid communication of the results of that experimentation. Once this has been tried in a wide variety of settings, interest groups must be organized to press for the adoption of the new materials. Decision making on instructional content is far too dispersed through the many school systems to hope to accomplish much change by just inventing model curricula and hoping that they will be adopted. In short, experimentation, evaluation, diffusion, and adoption of curricular designs and teaching materials will have a high priority in international studies at the secondary and primary educational levels.

Perhaps it would also be helpful to indicate some of the things we do not need in the present situation. At this stage in the development of international studies at the secondary and primary school level, it is imperative that we emphasize the different but complementary role of international studies in higher, secondary, and primary schools. Unfortunately, current federal funding patterns and the discussions leading up to them have had the opposite effect.

When the infinite-expansion-of-experts strategy discussed at the outset of this article became less persuasive, a shift was made to the final part of the rationale: the cosmopolitanization in the outlook of as many Americans as possible. Instead of seeing this as a complementary goal, too often the discussion took the form of what I call "slash-and-burn agriculture"; that is, new programs must be fertilized in the ashes of the old ones. What ensued was an odd debate over substantive focus, arguing that crosscutting topical themes or "global awareness" was superior to language and area studies as approaches to education at the secondary and primary areas. It may be so, although the evidence is virtually nonexistent, but the promised shift in federal funding priorities that accompanied this debate made what should have been an empirically based discussion of the relative effectiveness of different ways of organizing and presenting materials into a somewhat rancorous discussion of which of the several clienteles were most deserving of federal support. Nor did the appendage onto budgets of the NDEA VI centers of a stipulation that 15 percent be spent on "outreach," that is, diffusion of international knowledge and expertise to new clienteles, put the issue to rest. While many highly successful "enrichment" programs for secondary and primary schools grew out of this new emphasis, its very conception implied a one-way direction of expertise from higher to lower levels of the educational system and underestimated the very different set of skills that secondary and primary school teachers bring to their jobs—skills that cannot and should not be in the repertoire of most college professors.

If there is one aspect of the field of international studies that is most hampered by the "grantotropic" nature of its central planning, it is the development of a useful strategy for complementarity and collaboration among the levels of the educational system. This is difficult enough in general in our society; the current mood of the field makes it even more difficult in international studies.

NEW CLIENTELES: THE EXAMPLE OF BUSINESS

If the relationship between the old centers of international studies and the new clienteles at the secondary and primary school levels is a troubled one, a similar set of problems of relevance and appropriateness of style emerge when proposed new clienteles lie in the professional schools or in business, government, the communications media, international organizations, or foreign missions, for instance.

The principal problem is that in dealing with these nonacademic domains the first two parts of the original rationale for international studies are relevant, in this case the growing interdependence of the world economy and the vital importance of that change to American business. It is the "therefore"—the production of experts and the cosmopolitanization of American education—implicit in the remainder of the rationale that is not convincing to American business. Or to put it more precisely, businessmen may believe in general in the importance of international education, but do not see it as a priority for their own firm. Moreover, while they are convinced that the future businessman will require a greater degree of international sophistication, it is unclear just what kind of education will accomplish that goal, and it is even less clear what kind of expertise in international business affairs is worth creating and employing.

That the American economy has undergone a spectacular internationalization is now well known. U.S. direct investment abroad now totals $150 billion. One fourth of each new direct investment dollar goes abroad. Many of our largest corporations make over 50 percent of their profits overseas, for example, International Harvester, IBM, Otis Elevator, Pfizer, Gillette, Coca-Cola, and Dow Chemical. One in six Americans owes his job to foreign trade. Our largest banks have substantial proportions—many have more than 50 percent—of their deposits abroad. One out of every three acres of agricultural farmland produces for a foreign market. In a recent report on multinational corporations, figures indicate that of the top 15 American business firms in total sales, all but three have subsidiaries in 20 or more foreign countries. In addition, as much as 62 percent of earnings in these companies is generated overseas as well as a substantial percentage of sales, productive assets, and employment. Of the 250 largest multinational corporations, 200 are U.S. owned, while between 40,000 and 50,000 Americans are now serving at managerial levels in foreign countries.

The penetration of the American economy by foreign business also needs little documentation. Our dependence on foreign oil is only one indicator, as is the omnipresence of foreign-made automobiles and electronics products. Direct investment in the

United States from abroad is well over $30 billion. Foreign banks in the United States have assets exceeding $250 billion. Foreign ownership of manufacturing units within the United States is growing apace, for instance Volkswagen and Honda are now manufacturing here, soon to be followed by Renault. Bantam Books, Keebler, and Alka Seltzer are products of foreign firms, and many smaller units—hotels, farms, casinos, and stores—are now foreign owned.

This startling and rapid internationalization of our economy would seem to lead logically to several developments. First, in the long run this situation can only endure if a substantial portion of the American public at least understands the challenges of an interdependent economy. A straw in the wind was the recent attempt of Exxon to explain the continuation of its policy of shipping to Europe some of the low sulphur oil produced in its Aruba refinery when shipments to the state of Florida had to be cut, resulting in "dirty air" over many towns as generators had to switch to burning more impure oil. Without a short course on the federal structure of multinationals, Exxon's argument could only have been incomprehensible to the prime-time television audience before whom the case was discussed. An international perspective on the part of the public may not stop an America-first movement or bring general acclaim for Exxon's action, but at least it will make it possible for the public to begin to comprehend Exxon's argument that an international firm must live up to its international commitments, even at the cost of home country interests.

The second logical consequence of the internationalization of our economy is that business will need an ever-expanding flow of information on other countries to serve its needs. However, most of the information being assembled by academic specialists dealing with other countries is not, nor should it be, directly relevant to business interests. Most of the information needs for short-term business decisions must be met within the firm itself or in the trade journals and organizations very directly linked to business. The research establishment of the international studies community is not ordinarily geared to the time schedule, mode of analysis, or degree of particularity which will serve the immediate information needs of businesses. Moreover, the academics with the country-specific knowledge do not normally have the technical knowledge to contribute very much to a company's decision about, for example, whether to construct a plant at a particular location at a particular point of time. Academic research marches to a different drummer, following the shifts in disciplinary enthusiasm, moving crablike both sideways and forward in the accumulation of information. It would certainly not be profitable for a company to spend a great deal of time trying to keep up with a cross section of detailed academic research on countries in which they do operate or are considering operating.

Yet there is a segment of that detailed academic research which is relevant. For instance, out of 706 publications in English on Indonesia listed in the 1975 *Bibliography of Asian Studies*,[4] 146 were on economics or related subjects—trade, finance, transportation, demography, agriculture, taxation, banking, and so forth. Of 2,711 publications on China, 259 were on similar topics; on Japan, out of 1,394 publications, 425 were economics. And this is using a rather strict definition of business-relevance. If one were to include publications secondarily related to the economy—for instance, politics, social organization, or demography—the number would go considerably higher. Not all of this literature is by Americans, but it is all available in American university libraries.

The point is not that individual companies must keep abreast of this voluminous literature, nor that all of it, or even most of it, is directly relevant to a company's day-to-day concerns, but there has been no effort to cull, digest, and distribute what may be relevant.

There is, of course, another way to look at the problem. Many businessmen, particularly "old hands" in countries like Japan or Mexico, surpass many of the academic international studies specialists in their sophistication and information on the countries they deal with. It is unfortunate that some format cannot be developed that will enhance opportunities for mutual, not one-way, communication of information. Academics and businessmen now tend to view each other's domains as trivial.

The third logical consequence of the increased internationalization of the American economy is that the international competencies of corporate management and staff will have to be expanded. Most businessmen recognize this fact.

INTERNATIONAL COMPETENCIES IN MANAGEMENT

In a survey of the presidents and chairpersons of 55 firms from *Fortune's* top 100, every respondent agreed to the statement: "Most business firms (purely domestic as well as multi-national corporations) will be affected directly or indirectly by economic and political developments in the international scene, and most businessmen will therefore need the ability to understand and anticipate these effects."[5] Seventy-seven percent of the respondents indicated that "knowledge of the economy, politics, business practices, and culture of foreign countries" or of a foreign region was very important, and 70 percent gave the same response concerning a working knowledge of a foreign language. The remainder, 23 percent and 30 percent, respectively, said it was important, that is, nobody checked the "not important" box. All of them thought that a knowledge of foreign countries would be of growing importance, and 85 percent believed that language skills were likely to grow in importance.

With such near unanimity about the importance of international competencies, it is a curious fact that the development of an internationally educated managerial class has had remarkably little attention in the business community. The American Council on Education's Task Force on Business and International Education commented, "Hiring practices seem to indicate that companies place a low value on international education. Personnel managers are responding to immediate requirements rather than future needs. Unless the market place generates real demand for students with these capabilities, efforts to improve the quality and supply of students with international training may have little effect."[6] Stephen Blank, testifying to the Presidential Commission on Language and International Studies on behalf of the Conference Board, commented, "The center of gravity of businesses, especially those organized along product lines, is in the United States. International expertise is not seen as necessary to a successful career, nor rewarded by the system."[7] A report by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO comments, "Most corporations have been slow in encouraging international education for their multinational managers. Although the phenomenon of multinational business is not new, the requirements for its leadership are still not clearly understood, research has been most inadequate and the pressures of day-to-day business have received priority. As a result, such education has been neglected, or has not received adequate attention."[8]

A telephone survey of 14 large American corporations with extensive international business conducted by the Council of the Americas found that "none of the interviewed firms had ever hired a person at entry level specifically because of his or her foreign language or area studies background. Corporations usually worry about language and acculturation preparation of executives for overseas assignments only shortly before the actual physical move is to be made. . . . Furthermore, the U.S. firms' operations reflect the belief that English is the language of international business."[9]

The general pattern seems clear enough. Companies hire managerial personnel for their technical—usually business—competence; training in international studies or a language skill is not viewed as a business-relevant skill. It is true that when an international post opens up, someone with some experience in a firm—companies rarely put fresh recruits into overseas assignments at the managerial level—and with a specific international competence may get preference in the appointment. It is more likely, however, that a candidate will be chosen on technical grounds, and a quick briefing and perhaps a little language training will be given just before he or she goes abroad.

There are a number of factors that have made this pattern characteristic. First, very few managers in corporate international divisions have themselves acquired their competencies through education. Accordingly, they tend to believe in experience-based rather than education-based international expertise. Second, the distribution of American international business is heavily weighted toward the least "foreign" section of the international economy. For instance, 80 percent of our direct foreign investment is directed to Canada, Japan, Western Europe, and other industrialized countries. Of the remaining 20 percent, that in the developing countries, roughly four fifths is in Latin America. Even here, the concentration is in a few countries, such as Mexico and Brazil.[10] The countries with which American firms do most of their business are not those in which most of the recent development in international studies has taken place, that is, East Asian, East European, Middle Eastern, South Asian, Southeast Asian, and African studies, in that order of magnitude.

A third reason for the apparent lack of interest of business in international education is that in many companies the practice of sending Americans abroad to manage foreign operations has been decreasing, not increasing—although there are now in excess of 40,000 Americans employed abroad by American businesses—and many company officers predict that it will decline even further. There are many factors contributing to this: the essentially federal structure of the multinationals; the pressure in many countries for indigenization of staffs; the cost of keeping an American executive abroad—on the average, two and a half times as much as the cost of supporting him at home; the availability of jet travel and easy communications, providing frequent contact between the home office and the overseas operation; and the availability of "indigenous Americans," that is, foreign nationals educated in the best business schools in the United States.

As a consequence, American business has developed an indirect relationship with many of the countries with which we deal. Unlike the Japanese, who have perhaps 10,000 businessmen in the United States, all of whom speak English and have contact with a wide spectrum of American life, American business tends to deal with other countries through a comprador class, to borrow a term used to describe an older pattern of European investment overseas, that is, through indigenous brokers who face both ways, the home office and their own country. This is said not to belittle the major contribution and loyal service given by many non-Americans to American business nor to gainsay that this arrangement is to the advantage of many individual firms. But without at least the development of American counterpart expertise within the central organization to receive and interpret messages from overseas, the collective effect of this system is to put American international business in a precarious position in the long run.

It seems to be good time, then, to examine what the collective effect on the whole of American international business is of the, at best, sluggish action of individual firms to add international competencies to their managerial cadres. To date there are no thorough studies of this matter, although the report of the American Council on Education's Task Force is an excellent beginning. It would seem a first order of priority. Pending such a study, however, all of the evidence indicates that something must be done and soon to begin to increase the level of international competencies within the American business communities.

I have taken up at some length the problems of enlarging international studies to include a business clientele because the issues indicated there are typical of those to be faced if any of the other nonacademic clienteles are to be reached. Only a portion of international studies as currently established are of direct relevance to these clienteles. In general, this amount is less than is believed by the current specialists and more than is believed by the nonacademic employers. The planning necessary to fit these interests together and to make them mutually supportive has only just begun.

CONCLUSION

Let me return to my opening comments. We have a large and complex agenda, as illustrated by points raised in this and in the other papers in this volume. The Presidential Commission could not and did not deal with most of them. I see nowhere on the horizon any group or mechanism set up to do so. The persistent tying of planning to federal funding cycles, while understandable, introduces major biases and blind spots. In particular, a scheme must be developed for making the various parts of the enterprise mutually supportive and interlinked. And if the mood of the field remains expansionary and missionary, then rather severe changes in the current organization of the field have to be made if new clienteles are to be reached.

NOTES

1. "Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability," Report of the Presidential Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

2. "Foreign Language and International Studies Specialists: The Marketplace and National Policy" (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1979).

3. Richard D. Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*, Monograph 17, chapters V and VI (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1973).

4. Published annually by the Association for Asian Studies, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

5. Survey conducted for the American Council on Education's Task Force on Business and International Education, 1976.

6. "Final Report," the American Council on Education's Task Force on Business and International Education, 1976.

7. Stephen Blank, Testimony at President's Commission Meeting at Conference Board, March 26, 1979.

8. "Business and Education for World Affairs" (U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, September 1971), p. 6.

9. Samuel L. Hayden and Leslie W. Koepplin, "International Business, Foreign Languages and International Studies: Analysis of Relationships and Recommendations" (Paper prepared for the Presidential Commission, Council of the Americas, May 1979), p. 3.

10. Ibid.

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Language and Area Studies Review: Conclusions and Recommendations

In concluding a detailed, essentially descriptive analysis, some summation and evaluation seem necessary.* Many of the primary conclusions are readily apparent from the data and from the way they are presented; others become apparent only when small threads scattered throughout the various sections are pulled together. Some recommendations for future development also seem called for, even though I much prefer the natural history and cross-sectional inventory style I have used throughout the report. I make any recommendations at all with considerable hesitation since one thing I have learned is that language and area studies is a highly diverse and decentralized scholarly activity. The rhetoric of the field often implies a domain of scholarship readily susceptible to centralized direction, particularly through shifting the grant criteria of this or that source of extra-university money, but in point of fact, this is not the case. In national discussions, particularly as they relate to external funding, language and area studies tend to be reified, considered as a single, cohesive phenomenon, and postures are taken for or against these studies to support or not to support them. As our data show, it is not a unitary phenomenon; there is no single organizational or developmental model which characterizes most, or the best,programs. Each blends into and emerges from its own institutional setting and primarily reflects the administration's and faculty's own efforts plus, what is not stressed enough, genuine student interest. The availability of external financial support enables scholars and students with an interest in an area to play maximal professional roles with respect to that interest.

I do not argue that policy decisions translated through patterns of funding have no effect on the field—I have dealt with some of the intentional and unanticipated consequences of patterns of funding elsewhere—but that the main impetus for program growth must come from within each university and is the result of the accumulated effort of many professors, administrators, and students. Sudden withdrawal of funds can induce atrophy, particularly in language and area studies with its heavy burden of special costs that universities are unused to and little disposed to assume: regular overseas travel for faculty, an elongated training process for students, small enrollment language classes, and large—and to any librarian, infinitely expanding—library costs.

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* Reprinted from *Language and Area Studies Review*, Monograph 17 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, AAPSS, October 1973), ch. 9.

During the past ten years, external funding policies have been most supportive of natural growth trajectories. The round of Ford Foundation ten-year developmental grants now coming to a close had rather gentle requirements as to internal administration, and NDEA Title VI center funding was an even gentler yoke, particularly after the annual contract form was changed from a lone-item matching requirement to a fixed-price contract with only loose control over intra-program allocation of funds.[1] Under their joint nurture, a most spectacular growth occurred.

Now that the Ford Foundation grants have expired and NDEA Title VI may be coming to an end, it is very unlikely that the current high point of recruitment, training, and program development can be maintained. Even if new sources of financial support develop, they are unlikely to follow the philosophy of supporting any growth as, when, and wherever it occurs but will be more selective, demanding the establishment of priorities and new directions. It is in this spirit that this summary is written. In the end, future developments in language and area studies will depend upon a multitude of decentralized decisions, many already being made on campuses by professors, some with newly awakened interests, others with well-honed research and teaching capacities, and still others with declining commitments to language and area studies; by administrators who, in the face of a change from a bull to a bear market for higher education in general and for language and area studies in particular, think first of the geographical exotica as prime candidates for financial pruning; and by students, whose motivations for enrolling in this or that course are among the strangely unexplored mysteries of higher education. These conclusions and recommendations will become prophecy only to the extent that these many distinct groups accept them as realistic and helpful.

As I have commented several times in the course of this report, the central motifs of language and area studies have been very simple ones: (1) there are far too few Americans who are professionally competent with respect to the countries outside of the United States and Western Europe, and (2) our general educational process is overly European and American centered, thus stunting the growth of a more cosmopolitan world view among students and, more broadly, among the public at large. As long as the number of those with language and area competency was so small, any addition to the national stock was welcome, and it was unnecessary to distinguish very clearly between the two goals, specialist training and general education, since the first was a prerequisite to the second.

Nor was it necessary to attend too closely to the general levels of competency of those recruited into language and area studies, nor to the internal balances among world areas, countries, and disciplines. Any growth has been welcome, and financial support for general unrestricted development has been a most fruitful policy. Does this situation still obtain? Is the national pool of specialists now large enough? The only estimates of future demand we have are the crude aggregate projections for college employment of Ph.D.'s included in Chapter VIII, and the message of those figures is that while the current output can probably be absorbed for a while, a continued expansion of the rate of increase is uncalled for. We know very little about potential demand outside of the Ph.D.-level, college teaching market. Business, while beginning to be interested in international studies as part of general education and, in some cases, even having supported Latin American, Middle Eastern, and Japanese studies, has not made great efforts to seek out the products of the training. Nor has the State Department, another natural employer, although it does send its staff to the centers for supplemental training. Within education, while demand has begun to be felt in high schools, the numbers involved are not large. The community colleges and black colleges have, at present, neither the administrative or student interest, nor the library and other resources necessary to sustain language and area specialists. The most immediate candidates for expansion are the four-year liberal arts college and the undergraduate-oriented university, but their budgetary problems make the employment of many specialists of any kind unlikely. If the graduates of language and area studies programs are to find employment in these other places, not only will the demand have to be cultivated, but also the training will have to be at least partly de-academized and shifted from a pure research orientation.

Uncertainty as to future demand, of course, faces all of higher education, but because of the potential for expansion in a market not now penetrated, the language and area studies specialists may have an advantage. What is the supply? How many people there are with area competency depends on how one counts them, how finely they are subdivided, and how much competency is demanded for qualification as a specialist. Taking language and area specialists as a single entity, we estimated that there were about 12,685 individuals with professional competency and self-identification, some 9,844 of whom were employed in college or university teaching of which 3,803 or 39.6% were college faculty members in graduate-level programs (NDFL applicants). But only an estimated 7,409 or 58.4% of all the individuals could speak, read, or write the language easily, and only 2,084 or 16.4% met our criteria of language-residence qualified; that is, the ability to speak, read, or write a language of the area easily, and a residence of at least three years in the area, including two separate visits, one since 1964. While all of those who could be identified as having a significant professional competency (our 12,685 figure) have important professional roles to play—often more important than the academic role—the 2,084 figure is a better starting point for the purpose of establishing the national pool of full competency.

The general counting of overall numbers, however, perpetuates a point of view which I have been constantly stressing is incorrect—that language and area studies is a monolith in which the parts are interchangeable. This is clearly not so. Even our discussion of demand as a single phenomenon is misleading since the demand is for specific areas and disciplines, not just for any specialist at all. Moreover, as we shall see, there are questions of internal balances and lacunae in the national pool of competency which are independent of aggregate supply and demand estimates.

The notion of a very substantial body of language and area specialists can be made more realistic by dividing the total group according to each of 24 different types and degrees of specialization. Broken down in this fashion, the number of specialists and students in absolute terms for any one world area becomes small again. For instance, there are only 168 teachers on Southeast Asia, 273 on Africa, and 294 on South Asia in graduate-level programs. Even more telling are the numbers who meet our criteria of language and residence: only 96 on Southeast Asia, 165 on South Asia, and 127 on Africa. Nor, in Southeast and South Asian studies at least, is the Ph.D. flow of 18 and 66 per year respectively likely to create an early flooding of the market.

The degree of satisfaction one has with the current supply of specialists and rate of student output in other world area studies groups depends on what they are to do and what notion of the national need is used. To dramatize the elasticity of this notion, consider the proportion of each world area studies group in each of the 24 measured periods for all the indicators. Almost half (49%) of the representation is in Latin American and East Asian studies, while only 11.5% is concerned with other parts of Asia, only 9.7% is comprised of African studies, and 11.7%, Middle Eastern studies. The most surprising aspect of the table is the consistency of the percentages. There are a few anomalies—East European studies is high on language skills but, as might be expected, low on residence; African studies is low on all measures reflecting language skills; and South and Southeast Asia have made proportionally little progress into undergraduate degrees. Otherwise, the mean proportion which each world area studies group represents of the total holds true for the other indices as well.

Thus, the question becomes, Is there any absolute measure of national need against which the relative proportions can be measured? Swings of national policy fixation strike me as poor guides. They change radically in short periods of time and result in sudden shortages of staff. By the time the machinery is cranked up to remedy this shortage, public attention is diverted elsewhere. I recall one wry commentator suggesting that the way to get more government support for South Asian studies was to have India declare war on us—and lose. Another way of tying relative proportions of specialists to foreign policy is to consider certain areas of long-standing interest and others of lesser interest, but this, as events in Southeast Asia show, is a treacherous business. I suspect, however, that most foreign policy specialists would view the present distribution of world area studies groups as not far off the mark in reflecting our long-term national interest priorities. If one asks by what hidden hand this distribution was achieved since it was the result of so many individual decisions, I have no answer. The third possible criterion is to try to even out representation among the world area studies groups, favoring those with small representation, to hasten the expansion and maturation process and bring them up to the quantity and quality of the older, larger world area studies groups. This position has little substantive basis except the American's innate taste for equality and neatness.

If the argument for the preponderance of one or another world area studies group is a difficult one to make, the argument for a distribution of disciplines is even more difficult. An examination of the discipline distribution shows the effect of complete laissez faire even more than in the case of the relative proportion of the various world area studies groups, which, after all, have been subject to some special nurture of the least studied areas.

First of all, no matter what the aggregate projections of demand show in terms of a national pool of competency or even as an input into the American educational system, there are still some glaring gaps and low spots. What we have called the humanities—art, drama, music, philosophy, and religion—are, both collectively and individually, very underrepresented in every world area group and on every measure. We do not have many current specialists on these subjects, nor are we training very many new ones, nor are we exposing very many nonspecialist students to them. The same is true of the applied and professional disciplines.

The second notable feature is that the "core disciplines"—history, language and literature, political science, and anthropology—predominate no matter which of the measures is used. The varying disciplinary emphases of the different world areas reflect themselves in each of the measures used, and there is, in general, a high degree of agreement among the number of specialists, courses, and students by disciplines, except that any criteria involving language skills are likely to screen out large numbers of sociologists and political scientists.

It is also interesting to note that the undergraduate and graduate enrollment profiles by discipline are fairly similar, except for the previously noted predominance of graduate students in the language-related subjects for all the world areas. One reason for this is that these figures exclude the basic language instruction of the first three years, and advanced or substantive work on the language must await this primary skill acquisition.

To summarize, then, concerning the internal distribution of specialists, the differences in world area and disciplinary strength seem to pervade all aspects of language and area studies and seem fairly durable over time It would seem, however, that the time has come to take a hand in giving more shape and direction to the current pool of specialists, to recruitment and training of students, to the state of disciplinary and geographic coverage, and to raising and maintaining the competency of a larger part of the national pool of specialists. Such shaping and reinforcement will call for fresh policies with respect to: (1) the creation and maintenance of a national pool of competencies; (2) the consolidation, interlinking, and diversifying of the national profile of programs; (3) the development of new guidelines for specialist student recruitment, training, and career placement; (4) organizational and curricular innovations in introducing more sophisticated materials on Latin American, East European, and non-Western countries into the general educational process; (5) the maintenance and expansion of centrally administered overhead resources for the field; and (6) the development of new patterns of overseas linkages and opportunities. The following pages make recommendations in these domains. Within each section, I have arranged the suggestions roughly in order of the priority of needs as I see them.

THE POOL OF INDIVIDUAL COMPETENCY

1. A change of perspective is needed whereby:

— a. The current focus of attention on disciplinary legitimacy and degree of self-identification with language and area specialists would be shifted to a conception of a national pool of competency.

— b. The exclusive concern with the education of more and more students to be academic specialists would be supplemented by a concern for upgrading and reinforcing the competency of those already in the national pool.

— c. The monolithic perspective of language and area studies as a single reified phenomenon internally homogeneous, separate from and contrasting with other forms of intellectual endeavor and toward which people have holistic, often highly charged attitudes, would be abandoned in favor of at least an area- and discipline-specific frame of reference. (In particular, it is high time we dropped the "beyond area studies" cliché used as if the development of a competency with respect to an area represented a stage, now obsolete, on some unspecified evolutionary chain toward an ideal intellectual style. At the same time let us call a moratorium on the seemingly endless, pointless, and repetitious panels at scholarly meetings on the theme of area studies versus disciplines. Whatever else they are, they need not be antagonistic.)

— d. The world area rubrics currently used to describe the geographic competency and foci of attention of individual scholars would be dropped for more country-specific identification, with area-wide designations being used only for those with genuine multinational competency. These shifts of perception will, I hope, get many of the impediments to effective planning off center stage and permit us to attend to the needed reshaping and reinforcing of the constellation of enterprises now lumped together under the term "area studies."

2. The data clearly reveals that the number of individuals with some self-identification and professional expertise with respect to the countries of Latin America, East Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia is now quite substantial. But a much smaller group, by even the crudest of measures, has what might be called full competency. Surely an educational effort aimed at increasing and maintaining the national pool of competency should not restrict itself to the training of those who are formally labelled students and enrolled as such in educational institutions. Even from the viewpoint of efficiency, the creation of devices for upgrading and reinforcing the competencies of the existing stock in a continuing education process will be more rewarding than expanded output of beginners who may be better trained initially than their predecessors, but have still to suffer the weeding out process by which graduate schools so imperfectly match them to future careers. They have still to win their foothold in the professional hierarchy. Moreover, by viewing language and area studies as a set of competencies and not just a staff for training students, we will include nonacademics and attend to their needs and interaction with academics.

3. The most immediate need is for upgrading the language competency of those in the current national pool. While we are clearly better off than we were ten years ago in most of the world area studies groups, not only are initial levels of training low, but rapid attrition of hard-won skills occurs because of the infrequent use of the language and the lack of a genuine standard in the field that professional-level work will include the use of indigenous language materials. Special devices need to be constructed to allow mature specialists to upgrade and constantly reinforce their language skills. The current low level of competency and the high rate of atrophy for all but a handful of specialists are intolerable and call for an immediate and sustained attack. In specific terms, I recommend the following devices:

— a. Either the adaptation of existing centers or the establishment of new ones to prepare, administer, and monitor individualized language instruction, particularly at the advanced levels.

— b. The preparation and circulation of substantively interesting materials, such as news digests, book reviews, and journal abstracts. These materials should provide the same substance at several skill levels and should be accompanied by basic glossaries. They should be distributed widely and regularly so that a specialist is constantly exposed to reinforcing language use to curtail atrophy of skills and to allow him to gradually move up to another skill level.

— c. The creation of usage opportunities in the United States, such as substantively interesting conferences and seminars, conducted in a language of the area, with invitations to attend sent to scholars of the area who have some special substantive knowledge of the topic.

— d. The creation of language use opportunities in the country being studied, including relatively frequent, brief trips specifically for this purpose.

4. Overseas experience needs to be viewed in terms of competency reinforcement so that frequent, briefer trips tied to updating familiarity may be added to the research-oriented, full-scale field trips which occur more infrequently. One useful device for this would be the provision of funds to allow Americans to attend meetings of professional organizations in the countries they are studying. Another would be to try to create a lifestyle whereby part of each year is regularly spent in the country being studied, thus obviating problems of making fresh contacts, prolonged visa negotiations, and establishment of a new household. It would also permit collaborative research planning and data analysis.

5. Priority should be given to trips to the less-studied sections of countries. While some concentration of attention to the "primate" countries and to their capital regions is inevitable, an effort should be made to disperse individuals' experiences. Area specialists should be distinguished from country specialists by their having had considerable experience in a number of the countries of the region, and even country specialists should be urged to develop familiarity with the various subregions of the nation on which they have developed competencies.

6. Opportunities for individuals to develop minimal competency and overseas experience in several world areas need to be created and nourished. As I noted earlier, the organization of the field now makes this highly unlikely, and special efforts must be made to encourage it. In this way, inductive comparative scholarship becomes a reality and can supplement both the single country or area analysis and the multinational comparison with no roots in any particular region.

7. Individual specialists, both academics and nonacademics, should be tied into the resources of the major centers, each of which could appoint fellows who would be eligible to participate in all collective activities in the center. Such fellows should have money available at the center for perhaps six trips a year, which they could take at their own convenience when they wished to come to the center for such things as library use, seminars and conferences, consultations on research and curriculum, and language upgrading and reinforcement. In addition, these fellows should have a share in the center research support budget and its opportunities for overseas research. Some of these fellows would be attached permanently to a center and could even be treated as part of the faculty there, while others would be on a one- or three-year basis, depending on their special needs and skills. For the center this would provide a flexibility in staffing beyond what is available from full-time members of its faculty or others at the same university.

In particular, a center would be able to provide its students with the occasional guidance needed for highly specialized dissertations without the need to maintain full-time faculty members competent in that specialty on the campus. Carried far enough and developed fully enough, such a network of fellows linked to centers could accomplish a great deal in the coordination of the field and also forestall the inevitable wastage of skills encountered by the lone scholar at a university or college where he has few colleagues, few library resources, and fewer current materials, or by the nonacademic specialist whose work environment provides none of the scholarly resources and reinforcements.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

As we noted earlier, in the period of extreme scarcity almost any growth in educational and training facilities was welcome, and there was little need to separate the different functions to see whether all or the most important of them were being adequately served. Hence, not only the same program, but the same courses, are expected to serve a wide variety of needs. For instance, I recently attempted to categorize the enrollees in one of our program's courses. They included undergraduates taking only one course to fill a credit slot or for a general taste of exotica, a State Department employee, a missionary trainee who had already spent considerable time in South Asia, several beginning graduate students who had already decided to become either academic or nonacademic professional specialists, the advanced specialist students who had already had a substantial amount of training in the area and its languages, an advanced nonspecialist student who had decided late in his graduate career to do a dissertation on the area and was trying to take at least one course on the area prior to sitting down to write, several nationals of the area seeking an academized viewpoint on their country, and an American wife of an area national seeking some insight into and orientation toward the country where she would soon reside. The aims and interests of this very mixed clientele make it extremely difficult to serve any of the needs very well. But keeping in mind the range of needs that area courses are now supposed to serve may help us to distinguish the various components of language and area training to see whether each is being served adequately and, equally importantly, to see whether the appropriate combinations of components appear in the training of very many individual specialists.

1. Empathy and Appreciation

Empathy, in this case the ability of the student to put himself inside another culture, particularly one very different from his own, is a most worthwhile objective in the general education of students. It is often confused in the academic setting with the provision of a factual base of information on an area and with the organization of knowledge in a disciplinary format. While they may go together, they are not the same thing, although higher education's, particularly graduate education's, tendency to scholasticize all instruction means that they are usually treated as equivalents.

Carefully developed multimedia materials with the stimulation of individual experience in mind should be a high priority of the field if the specialist-training function of language and area studies is to be supplemented by an active diffusion stage. Empathy and appreciation can be helped along considerably by the development of courses and materials in current belles lettres and the arts, which are the weakest part of language and area studies professional resources. Rather, those currently teaching humanities subjects show their own scholarly origins by providing "civilization" courses which stress the acquisition of factual knowledge about the classical cultures of non-Western societies. Such an approach provides a useful but not sufficient base for the development of empathy and appreciation in students.

2. A Factual Base

Anyone hoping to comprehend a non-Western country, let alone pursue a career with respect to it, needs to make a special effort to acquire a large amount of descriptive information about that country. Americans absorb this general factual base about their own country and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe as they grow up. The acquisition of this "apperceptive mass" with respect to less well known countries involves forms of teaching and learning at a relatively low level of intellectualization, but since it must comprise a substantial portion of the instructional process, the accumulation of this fundamental descriptive material, rather than the theoretically and methodologically more elegant secondary analysis so common to Western-based scholarship, must be a major part of area courses and of the research of academic specialists. Consequently, area studies courses and research come to be viewed as work not of a college or university level. Partly as a result of this academic attitude toward the teaching of, and research on, purely descriptive materials, the teaching of the essential factual base is almost never done directly on its own terms, but rather, purely descriptive materials get introduced into disciplinary courses. Thus, in current practice, a student going from one course to another will often get the same introductory substantive materials in each area course. A student taking only one course on the area will get only a minimal factual base, but even a student taking a wide variety of disciplinary courses will not get adequate substantive training on the area for the creation of an area expertise. The factual base needed for the empathizer and appreciator is considerably less, of course, than for the specialist, but neither group seems to be very well served now. It seems to me that, if this purpose of obtaining a factual base were separated from the function of teaching a student to view a country from the perspective of a single academic discipline, the glaring gaps in the various specialists' information base would be readily apparent, and fresh materials could be prepared and teaching strategies developed to remedy it.

3. Substantial Multi-disciplinary Training on the Area

One of the promises of area studies is that, by focusing on a common substantive domain, the contribution of several disciplines may be blended in students' training and in research. Our data indicate that only about half of the graduates have had training in more than one discipline and only about one-fourth have had more than two disciplines. Even when students do take courses on the area, the courses tend to be unrelated and repetitive, and little effort is made to integrate one with another. Three-fourths of the students feel that there is no attempt at integrating the courses in their training. Only 65 out of 8,890 area courses were interdisciplinary, and only a fifth of the programs gave, either at the beginning or at the end of specialist training, a course or seminar designed to pull the disciplines together. There were very few instances, indeed, when the actual contents of courses—that is, anything but their titles and catalogue descriptions—were laid side by side to uncover overlap or gaps. Nor do I know of very many examples in which programs systematically examine the actual course mix most students take.

Even a cursory look into many programs would reveal just how thin most specialist training really is. The average number of courses on the area taken by the programs' graduates in their primary discipline is only four semester course units with about two course units in a related discipline. This seems hardly enough for meaningful acquisition of expertise. To help deepen the training that specialists are receiving, NDFL fellowships should be tied not only to language enrollment as they are now, but to a student's taking sufficient spread and depth of area training to give him a good start on building his career competency. It would help even more if national support for centers, whose primary role is the creation of specialists, were based upon the number of specialists receiving substantial training and not on just the number who have taken one course or written a doctoral dissertation on the area, and who are then reported to be language and area expert graduates.

4. *Training in at Least One of the Languages of the Area*

For the student, particularly the undergraduate who wants a little deeper exposure to another country as part of his general education but does not plan to become a specialist, the levels of language training which many specialists get now would be sufficient. More than half of the specialist graduates of centers have taken no language training at all, while training for the others was the average equivalent of about 4½ semester course units. It is high time to insist that a larger proportion of the specialist students master and use a language of the area. This mastery must be judged in terms of career-oriented terminal goals and performance testing, not just semesters or years spent in class. In fact, it would seem logical that continuation of NDFL fellowship support and other parts of the specialist training package I shall describe should depend on it. For this purpose, the development of standardized testing materials and teaching materials keyed to them seems an absolute necessity no matter how abhorrent this may be to some teaching philosophies. It also means that the current system of taking many students through basic training in a language and then abandoning them there must be changed. Greater emphasis must be put upon advanced levels of language learning, including the preparation of teaching materials (because of the few people involved they will have to allow for much individualized learning and self-instruction) and a greater concentration of NDFL fellowship funds at the advanced level. Fortunately, increasing proportions of students are coming into the programs with some language skills, but in many world areas the preparation of advanced teaching materials has not kept up with this development. In the chapter on languages, I dealt with other problems of raising the general level of competency and, in particular, of overcoming the discontinuity between oral-aural basic instruction and promoting a scholarly command of the written language. It is urged that, for a while, NDEA money specially earmarked for language research be even further concentrated upon projects aimed at improving the level of competency of specialists, both those in training and those already in the field.

5. Sojourn(s) in the Area

Ideally, both residence in the area and instruction in the United States should be a part of the acquisition of empathy, appreciation, and the factual base. The expansion of funds and programs for overseas sojourns of college undergraduates and teachers, especially in the countries where PL480 surplus funds are available, has made an overseas sojourn possible for an increasing number of students. At the moment there are signs that the saturation point may be approaching, that free use of these moneys may be curtailed by restrictions imposed by the countries themselves, and that the traditional distaste of Congress for what many consider "junkets" may dampen the growth of opportunities for educational travel abroad. This is unfortunate since a sojourn in the country plus some academic training at home is an excellent internationalizer of students' viewpoints. Moreover, as our data show, in part as a result of this general inflation of opportunities, increasing proportions of student specialists come into their training with some residence experience in the country. In addition to this pre-training sojourn, it would be helpful if a specialist student could spend time in the area after his basic language and area course training has been completed but before he begins his advanced courses. This would give reality to the factual instruction he receives in the classroom and enable him to make a quantum leap forward in his language mastery. Between 85% and 90% of all current students and graduates reported that more language training in the country where it is spoken was greatly to be desired. I would, in fact, urge that the timing and duration of this mid-training sojourn in the area be keyed to language level performance. Finally, for those whose dissertation topics require field work, a data-collecting sojourn in the area should be made when all other requirements have been fulfilled at home. Each specialist student should have at least one trip, and for as many as possible, both the mid-training and dissertation-level sojourn in the area should be encouraged.

However, no matter what we decide and provide funds for in the United States, visits to the area are likely to become more and more difficult to arrange. A new rationalization of the relationship between specialists, the countries they study, and especially scholars who are nationals of those countries must be evolved. At present, a few American scholars in almost every country, and in some countries almost all scholars, are having difficulty in gaining access to the area of their specialization. It is ironic that, just when the closed societies such as China, the Soviet Union, and the nations of East Europe are opening up to American scholarship again, and when the Japanese government is even engaged in providing substantial financial support to American scholarship on Japanese culture and society, countries to which American scholars formerly had easy access should be erecting more and more devices to control and limit that access. The tensions which seem to underlie the restriction of access arise from the following concerns of scholars and governments in the host countries: (1) the large numbers of American scholars seeking entry; (2) what they perceive to be inequities in the research relationship and sharing of the rewards of American scholarly activities in their countries; (3) the mismatching of American research topics and their own sense of what has a high national priority; (4) the ability of Americans using their superior financial resources to dictate the research priorities of the scarce, and often the best, talent of academics within the country; (5) the inflationary effects of the use of PL480 funds and other accumulated debts to mount scholarly projects over which the host country has a limited control; and (6) the political sensitivity of topics and judgmental character of the results of American research, particularly social science research. Some of these concerns are based on misconceptions about the actual behavior of a few American scholars—particularly the language and area specialists. Others are a result of natural characteristics and rhythms of American research style abroad. Still others have, indeed, reflected a free-booting aggressive ethic of American entrepreneurship which has always been more unrestricted abroad than at home. At the same time a number of helpful initiatives have already been taken to put cross-national scholarly exchange on a new footing.

It is here recommended that a fresh look be taken at the whole nature of American overseas scholarship, and that, in particular, the various world area studies groups examine the nature of the problems they all share and pool the knowledge of procedures which they have separately invented to disarm some of these tensions. I would urge that an attempt be made to take these discussions away from a binational orientation as much as possible. Many of the countries with whom language and area specialists are concerned are developing their own language and area studies centers and specialists, and will also be encountering difficulties of access. The more the problem can be seen as an international network problem and discussed in a multinational rather than a bilateral context, perhaps through UNESCO, the more durable the resolution will be. From the United States' side to date, the language and area specialists have had relatively little to do with the counterflow; students from abroad go to different parts of the university, often the physical sciences and engineering. However, the flows, both of scholars and students coming here as well as going abroad, should be seen as part of the same process, and methods of easing and regulating access should be made more reciprocal and at least audited by multinational advisory bodies. For instance, there is no counterpart among scholars and students coming to the United States specifically to carry out research on our country, with the students under the exclusive control of their professors at home. We consider this a most natural arrangement for our own students and professors.

As for specific steps that might be taken, they will, of course, vary considerably from one world area to another. However, some very general suggestions might be helpful. I believe that, both for students and professors, the more frequent, shorter-term familiarization visits or the dual residence style of linkages will help to disarm some of the data raid notions of American scholarship. Second, special efforts need to be made to feed back the results of American scholarship into the host country's pool of scholarship by publication of results there, sending back publications issued in the United States based upon work in those countries, encouragement of joint American–host country consultations on research focus and style at an early stage, and analysis and write-up of at least part of the data in the host country. Third, the research role should be mixed with other roles within the host country. For professors, this means teaching. For students, it means moving the visits earlier in their careers so that the West European pattern of registration as a student at a university may serve educational, language learning, and familiarization purposes in addition to research. Fourth, Americans should adopt on their own a general formula of ethical behavior for American scholars abroad, such as sharing of research results, carrying out of the topics for which entry was granted, not interfering in the internal politics of the host country, and refraining from playing out American political dramas within the host country. On the part of the host countries, it is to be hoped that some more rapid and more certain way through the gradual accretion of filtering and blocking procedures and veto groups—often the education, home, and external affairs ministries at the national level and the education and home ministries at the local level—can be found and some assurance reached that scholars who have devoted a career to the study of the country or region will not be denied access without cause.

6. Patterns of Preparation for Advanced Training

If the patterns of thorough language learning and early overseas visits become normal, I believe the effect will be to greatly uplift the level of domestic language and area training, making it unnecessary to mix into each area course the basic familiarization data to benefit those taking their first course on the area. A new pattern would make possible the introduction of courses at a level which would begin to serve the training needs of professional specialists over and above what is provided for the general students, a need only occasionally being met now. It would permit the creation of courses, seminars, or structured tutorials for students who have visited the area, acquired the broad factual base on it, had at least one prior course on the area in at least two disciplines, and demonstrated a working command of one of the languages of the area. (There are almost no courses with such implicit or explicit prerequisites now.) Some of the regular and guest lectures should be given in a language of the area, and a substantial portion of the assigned reading should be in those languages. As was noted in this report, what is now being omitted is this kind of sequential, advanced-level training which the future specialists should have.

7. Career Training

The above-mentioned advanced-level courses, taken within a specialist's own discipline, should lead to truly professional-level training with respect to an area for those whose future careers will be in university teaching and research, especially if combined with a research and teaching apprenticeship system. A substantial portion of the course work for such people must also be in nonarea-related disciplinary training. I do not wish here to further the common notion that disciplinary courses on the area do not comprise discipline training, but only to say that any student specialist planning a career in research or teaching in higher education will need a strong base in one discipline or another. Some disciplines have a heavier superstructure of discipline-specific theory and technology than others, and thus a substantial amount of training in these disciplines is not substantive or descriptive. Such theory and methodological training is best not taught in an area context, although there is no reason why area-relevant courses and research cannot (in fact they do) embody and contribute to disciplinary theory and technology.

While there is some variation among the disciplines in the extent of this nonsubstantive superstructure, there is remarkable agreement among the participants in the training of area specialists about the desirable average mix of area, language, and disciplinary training. Our data show that, on the average, the current graduate students training to be specialists want to spend about a third of their academic training in nonarea-related courses, about 27% in language training, and about 38% in area courses. Program directors, in depicting an ideal mix, on the average arrived at almost identical proportions—34% nonarea, 26% language, and 40% area related.

In all, then, both program directors and current students want to allocate about two-thirds of their graduate training to language- and area-specific courses. As we noted earlier, program graduates spent only half their time in such training. Whether this leaves enough time for career training in the discipline is a question not of proportions but of absolute amounts of time. Area specialists would be most unwise in the current structure of the academic world to skimp on basic disciplinary preparation. One solution is that the time required to acquire all three types of training—area, language, and discipline—be lengthened. The data from past student records show that the length of time now taken to complete the degree for area specialists tends to be not much longer than for nonarea specialist students in the same disciplines, and that the compromises tend to be made by decreasing the amount of language and area training taken. Recent program graduates spent less than half of their graduate course time in language and area training, and the deficit tends to be in the advanced language training and the professional-level area training of the kind I discussed earlier. Since I view the raising of the general competency level of specialists as a prime objective of national policy, three possible ways of altering the current NDFL fellowship pattern might help to achieve this end: (1) change from a single year fellowship limited to four years to fellowships over a longer period of time, with initial commitments for the full term, dependent on satisfactory performance; (2) concentrate the fellowships in the upper end of the training precisely to take care of the elongated period; (3) give fellowship support only for the language and area proportion of the student's training.

I have spoken in this section of serving career goals through the addition of regular disciplinary training. But the training for academic placement is what language and area studies programs now do best; in fact, in many places it can be argued that it is the only thing they do. If, as I argued earlier, an increasing proportion of language and area specialists are going to have to be placed outside higher education, very direct attention is going to have to be paid to combinations of that training with career training for these nonacademic pursuits. For one thing, we need to descholasticize at least some of our area courses. For another, substantive courses on, for example, diplomacy, journalism, technical assistance, and education need to be developed. For another, materials in less than whole course length units have to be developed for infusion into the already crowded professional training schedules of many of these occupations. More likely, the materials will have to cater not to the student in training, but to the established professional whose career brings him to sustained professional work in the area. It seems to me time for groups of scholars in language and area studies to seek out representatives of those careers, perhaps the officers of their professional societies, to determine what is specifically needed.

ORGANIZATION

The current growth and widespread diffusion of language and area studies as well as the wide variety of forms this enterprise has taken on various campuses are signs of the vitality and flexibility of this style of on-campus educational organization. The growing memberships, high rates of attendance, and strong allegiance to area studies professional associations as well as the seemingly infinite proliferation at the national level of developmental and representational committees indicate the presence of a "hidden university" at the national level, an arena in which many of the language and area studies activities are played out. One of the strong impressions gathered in the course of my three years of observation and interviewing for this survey is that language and area specialists are more plugged into, and feel a greater gap between, their role and status in this national "hidden university" and their role and status on their home campus than do most other members of their disciplines. There is, accordingly, a greater opportunity for transinstitutional organization and coordination than is present for most other scholarly activities, and I shall consider individual campus and national arrangements as part of the same organizational fabric.

The on-campus program now ranges from a large, cohesive, highly organized, multiple-discipline enterprise with its own faculty, courses, degrees, students, physical facilities, and, above all, budget to fledgling committees comprising several "been there's" joining together to seek a collective identity on the campus and to pursue external funding. Scattered between these extremes are a large number of programs representing various stages of growth and adaptation to particular college and university environments. By and large these programs, like the institutions they inhabit, are aggressively competitive; and links between them, except for specialized purposes, such as summer language programs and maintenance of overseas facilities, are quite weak and troubled. I realize that any suggestions which either directly or indirectly imply differential treatment of different programs are bound to be contentious, and in particular, because of my of identification with a large program, any recommendations which distinguish between large and small programs will inevitably raise questions of bias. No one, least of all this author, wishes to stunt the current lush growth of programs or to fit them into a preconceived notion of a hierarchically spaced, interlinked, orderly, rational network. It might, however, be helpful to consider some of the dimensions along which new growth should be especially encouraged, and since language and area studies are a national resource as well as intra-institutional programs, their composite national profile is of special concern, and some consideration of an optimal distribution seems called for.

As with individual specialists, university-based centers need to be viewed not only in terms of their production of new specialists, but also as pools of assembled competency —sets of scholars whose presence on the same campus, under some unifying administrative canopy and tied to substantial institutional resources, makes their collective skills somewhat greater than an equal number of dispersed individuals would represent.

Let us consider first a possible stratification of program styles and functions, and put aside for the moment the aggressive competitiveness of the various universities' programs.

1. Large Multipurpose Centers

There should be more than one but no more than five or six fully developed programs in each world area studies group with maximal lateral area disciplinary spread and full language coverage up through at least the fourth year level. There is, in fact, an interesting quantum jump in the quality ratings of programs in each world area studies group between the third or fourth ranked program and the rest, so that an actual divide already exists. My own general ideas about the dimensions for judging full-scale, multipurpose programs are given in Chapters VI and VII. Should more specialized criteria be desired for membership in this group of centers, I should stress the experience in giving a substantial number of graduate students full specialist training in several disciplines, including advanced courses using both previous area exposure and prior area training, and using one or more languages of the area. Such programs should be noted for the depth as well as the breadth of the training they provide, and their productivity judged by the fullness of the training of the specialists who graduate there as well as their number.

In addition to their teaching function, such programs should have a high degree of competency in their faculty (perhaps the number who are language/residence qualified as a beginning qualifier) and a substantial publication record with respect to the area. Some tangible evidence of a program's intellectual cohesion should be sought both in terms of interaction of the faculty, especially across the social science–humanities divide and across the language–area studies divide. Further, a program's willingness to link outward and to take on new functions should be ascertained, since much of what follows depends upon that willingness.

Once chosen, such centers should be charged with a number of new functions and responsibilities such as:

- a. Primary responsibility for upgrading the level of training of advanced specialist students both in their area and in their language competency.
- b. Upgrading and reinforcing skills of members of the existing pool—the creation of linkages with noncenter-based scholars and nonacademics who should share in the centers' activities and resources. As noted earlier, this function would be helped by the provision to such individuals of travel funds to come at their convenience to the center, a share in the direction of the center's activities, and a share in the center's research funding for individual and project research.
- c. The maintenance of near-repository library collections and the development of devices for easing the utilization of these collections by scholars and centers not at the particular university. As part of this role, the centers should partition among themselves the responsibility for circulating annotated accession lists, with items included on a graduated system indicating whether they belong in one or another type of library—for instance, a fully developed research library, a more modest, beginning specialist-training library, a nonspecialist college or university library, or a general nonacademic library. Such a service is especially needed in dealing with vernacular languages so that each library does not have to maintain a staff to scrutinize each title that comes in, particularly under the automatic PL480 accession procedures, to determine their interest in it. As it is now, either many libraries have

large storage places where ingested but undigested books and serials are held in a rapidly growing limbo, or they discard large sections of the intake by broad category. Further, there is nothing in the system now that guards against everyone, except perhaps the Library of Congress and Midwest Research Library, discarding the same books and serials. The problem for non-PL480 acquisition countries is not so acute, but cooperative pre-screening could be a great boon to all. It should be noted that while the PL480 program has been a great help in the development of library resources at American universities, in its shadow the universities' own acquisition arrangements have withered. It might be well to develop contingency plans in the event of the sudden unavailability of these funds, and at this point, full cooperation will be essential.

— d. Encouraging, in the large, multipurpose center with enough resources and personnel, overlap with another world area studies group, in joint staffing, in student training, in collaborative teaching, and in research ventures. Such collaboration is often more easily accomplished on a single campus than it is when the domain of interaction has moved off the campus and the compartmentalization typical of national level professional activities takes over. The world area studies groups have tended to become watertight compartments, both among themselves and between all of them and scholars concerned with American or European affairs. The gap is especially wide between comparativists, many of whom work at a level which involves a large number of countries with little depth in any one, and the area specialist, who rarely looks over his shoulder at what scholarship is accomplishing in other areas or acquires competency to do significant scholarly work in another. Much of the sometimes rancorous legitimacy debate which emphasizes this gap would be disarmed or even made productive if further salvos could be enjoined until both sides acquired a professional competency in at least two of the areas or countries to be compared. On the comparativists' side, the tendency to contentless scholastic formalism might be eased, and on the language and area side, a march toward parochialism might also be halted and genuine, inductive comparative work carried a step forward. As it is now, this adding of a second string to one's bow is quite difficult. The field is subdivided into institutionalized compartments occupied by the separate tribes of world area studies groups, and like a gathering of young anthropologists comparing notes on their first village studies, each is willing to let the other be plenipotentiary representative of the other villages while speaking with unquestioned authority on the one he has studied. University programs, professional associations, reprint distribution circles, developmental committees, research and fellowship funding, and screening panels all tend to be region specific, and even the scholar with an established reputation in one area will be viewed as either a neophyte or a dilettante if he seeks support to acquire a second competency or to do field work in a second area. Special efforts should be made to ease the process of scholars crossing over from one region to the next. It seems to me that the result of the crossing is more likely to be hybrid vigor than sterility if it occurs on a frequent basis and on the same campus. Those universities with several multipurpose centers seem a natural environment if the current inward-looking viewpoint can be modified.

— e. The provision of what might be called the national scholarly overhead resources of the field, such as holding conferences; assessing the needs for future development of the field; publishing journals, monographs, and occasional papers; maintaining secretariat functions for national professional organizations; creating general and specialized bibliographies; preparing, updating, and distributing fresh teaching materials for both area and language instruction; preparing and administering standardized language tests—all the many miscellaneous activities which nurture the field as a whole.

— f. Service of nonacademic needs, for example, providing speakers and consultants for public and government functions; advising on the preparation of teaching materials and curriculum for primary and secondary schools; providing liaison between the activities of scholars and journalists, government officials, and businessmen; and teaching secondary and high school teachers.

— g. Maintaining overseas linkages and facilities in the host countries as well as providing channels for a reverse flow of scholars from abroad to American universities. Currently some of the programs do maintain overseas establishments for their own students and faculty, often as a remnant of a major research venture or a technical assistance program, and less often as an arrangement for a regular flow of scholars from abroad. In some instances, as in the case of language teaching facilities in Taiwan and Tokyo, or the American Institute of Indian Studies, or the American Universities Research Center in Cairo, programs are banded together to maintain such establishments abroad jointly, and occasionally major centers, such as the University of Wisconsin, have acted as umbrella organizations for administering a variety of overseas programs involving smaller colleges and universities. By and large, however, the centers have not consciously pursued this role on behalf of the general field. It seems a natural role for major programs to undertake, particularly in view of the difficulties in overseas relations I discussed earlier. As part of the equalization of the host country–United States scholarly relationship, major centers in the United States might encourage affiliation of foreign students who wish to carry out training and research under the supervision of their professors at home, just as our students do when we send them abroad.

2. *Smaller, Specialized Centers*

As our data indicated, the past two decades have witnessed the rapid growth and diffusion of language and area studies, particularly the establishment of area studies centers on many campuses. In most cases, this has been accompanied, if not initially motivated, by growing student interest in studies of other areas of the world. As I indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, both the primary motivation and resources for development of area strengths on campuses are internal. External funding, while comprising a larger proportion of the total cost of programs below the top quality quartile and the NDFL applicant programs, still supplies on the average less than a third of their expenses; I suspect this figure is so high because even a modicum of overhead expenses which any center is likely to have quickly adds up to more than $10,000, and the smaller the academic staff that funds are spread across, the larger proportion it comprises. By overhead, I mean expenses such as an office, a secretary, a small amount of travel money, a few earmarked fellowships, a teacher and informant for low enrollment languages, special funds for library acquisition—all of those things which a center tries to amass. If these overhead resources disappear, the "value added" by putting together a set of faculty members in a common enterprise as against a similar set of competencies dispersed through the faculty is lost. But presumably student interest will remain, classes will be given, professors will continue to teach them. In fact, much of the initial recruitment and training of specialists will still take place at institutions other than those which have the large multipurpose centers, and graduates of these centers will be employed at other institutions after they have completed their work. Our data documented this hourglass-shaped pattern—recruitment from a wide range of institutions, training by a more limited set, and again a wide dispersion to institutions where graduates are employed. It would be unfortunate if shifting criteria for external funding, in an effort to level off the number of specialists being produced and to encourage a more diffusionist general education function for language and area studies should skip over these middle range programs in favor of totally fresh ventures and liberal arts and community colleges. In part this danger arises because these programs have conceived of themselves—and the rationale of past NDEA funding programs has encouraged them to think of themselves—largely as the producers of graduate specialists. The consequent pressure to recruit and retain as many Ph.D.-level specialist trainees as possible has inhibited what might have been a more natural process of concentration in the middle and smaller sized programs on general education, nurturing local recruits to specialization up through the early years of their training and then sending them for advanced training to the fully staffed multipurpose centers. Some of this has already taken place, but a more systematic procedure could well have been developed. The middle range programs could also have concentrated their resources on a specialty rather than seeking cross-sectional representatives.

While our data indicate that the various centers studied show a wide variety of forms, this variety was rarely the result of deliberate design but rather a consequence of the differences in natural growth patterns inherent in the special features of each university setting. We found that few centers had examined the character of other centers across the country, and that when they did, their objective was to be as like the others as possible, especially to emulate one or another of the larger centers, usually the one in which the director was trained. Where there were differences in aspirations, they generally had to do with size, organizational style, and the centrality of language study. All had in mind, however, a model of maximal lateral spread through the disciplines with some depth in one or two core disciplines—history, language, literature, anthropology, political science—and an emphasis upon the training of academic specialists in as many disciplines as possible. Almost no one sought a specialized role, fitting into the lacunae of other programs, or tried to develop different courses or instructional strategies for the general student as contrasted with the specialist.

It seems unlikely that very many of the current middle or smaller sized programs will marshal sufficient faculty, library, and administrative resources to reach the level of the multipurpose, fully developed center, although there is no point in stopping such growth should it occur. The total cost of a full-scale program is very high indeed. The eleven upper quartile quality programs in East Asian studies average over $1,000,000 in total cost annually, and in all world areas, some $677,467; thus, only a few programs in each world area should expect to reach this high concentration of resources. Most should and do stabilize at a lower level of development. The only question is whether all programs should seek a position along a single continuum where smaller programs are like, but less than, the larger programs, or whether individual programs should carve out some special domain of expertise or service of their own. It is clear that current national growth patterns tend toward the former, but national policy may best be served by moving toward the latter.

If a policy of deliberate differentiation were adopted, what kinds of specialization might be encouraged? To put it another way, what kinds of functions do the large multipurpose centers not perform very well or perform no better than a series of smaller specialized centers would? Of the functions I listed for the multipurpose centers, the last four—multi-area teaching and research, the provision of national scholarly overhead resources, the service of nonacademic needs, and the maintenance of overseas linkages—might each become a specialty of the smaller program. Another kind of specialization for the middle size and smaller centers could be the linking together of language and area specialists with faculty members and nonacademics whose familiarity and professional concerns with an area derive from technical assistance programs. As I indicated earlier, there is a long history of attempts to bring them together. It is my conviction that the blending will only occur when both viewpoints reside in one head and that this cannot be fully accomplished by having language and area researchers, teachers, and practitioners just meet with each other. Rather, each must attempt to work at the other's role. The language and area studies professors should be attached for a while to a development project or to a government policy position in relation to the area they study, and conversely, the practitioners should be given the opportunity to conduct scholarly research, writing, and teaching on the area of their competency, hopefully in collaboration with the language and area specialists. To carry this out on a grand scale might be impossible, but a few selected experiments of temporary tandem appointments to technical assistance programs and to research and teaching centers would readily explore the possibilities of this approach. A smaller specialized program seems the proper locale for such experimentation.

This may be an unfortunate time to make a fresh effort in this direction since it is my hunch that, even if overseas technical assistance continues at a substantial level, it will not involve the overseas residence of the same large number of American academics as before. Nonetheless, the large multipurpose centers have seemed to be inhospitable places for these linkages, in part because they have tended to be in a different set of universities than those in which large overseas development activities are found. Such successes as have been achieved in blending the two sets of interests have largely involved middle size and smaller programs, and thus this bridge function is a natural one for a healthy specialization at that level. In like manner, smaller specialized programs might provide a more fruitful arena, not for the two area approaches to comparative studies I discussed under item 1 (d) above, but for a link between language and area studies and the large-scale, multinational research project or the comparative teaching program with weak roots in any one culture. A great deal more can be done to link the general systems building and concept generation of the comparativists with the particularism and cultural feel of the language and area specialists, and some smaller specialized centers might throw themselves into the creation of the linkages.

In the same vein, smaller centers can be good locales for experimentation in new ways of cross-cutting the educational base of international studies while at the same time insuring against the kind of dilettantism that threatens many other university innovations. General topical themes, such as conflict in multicultural societies, tradition and change, revolutionary literature, the artist and society, to name only a few that have come to my attention, can serve as integrating intellectual threads pulling together non-Western languages and area studies, Europeanists and Americanists, and the disciplines. Centers might also concentrate attention and teaching on one or another of the problems that touch almost every area of the world, such as crime and violence, poverty, over-urbanization, environmental pollution, and health delivery systems. Once again, some small and middle size centers might choose to specialize in this kind of experimentation.

Middle size and smaller centers might also want to specialize in one or another of the underrepresented disciplines, discipline groups, or languages, adding great strength in such disciplines to a common base of the core disciplines—history, political science, anthropology, languages and literature—which most programs have anyway. Prime candidates for such specialization are the underrepresented disciplines I have called the substantive humanities (especially if these can add a contemporary as contrasted to a classical or historical orientation), performing arts, demography, urban studies, and the professional applied disciplines.

Middle size and smaller programs might want to specialize in individual countries or sections of large countries, particularly those receiving little attention elsewhere.

3. *Undergraduate, General Education–Focused Centers*

As I mentioned in the opening paragraphs of the chapter, during the period when the primary objective of language and area studies was to be fruitful and multiply, there was little need to distinguish between the education of the specialist and the general education of the rest of the student body. I have also noted that while attention was focused on the specialist, the overwhelming proportion of students enrolled in area courses were nonspecialists. The actual education imparted often served neither the specialist nor the nonspecialist student as well as it might have. I also noted that, in spite of the specialist training and discipline-bound emphasis of most programs, a large, usually an overwhelming, proportion of the students enrolled in the area courses were undergraduates and that the graduate-focused centers now train the largest proportion of undergraduates who are exposed to language and area studies.

It seems to me, therefore, that the next stage of development of language and area studies needs to be a partitioning of the goals, separating professional specialist training from what is needed for general education—what I have called in the preceding section the creation of empathy and appreciation plus the nondiscipline-bound factual base. It also seems to me that fresh approaches in this domain are more likely to come from the four-year liberal arts colleges and the community colleges where undergraduates and general education are of primary concern. This is not to say that innovative teachers are not found at the graduate centers or that they do not teach undergraduates well—it is a widely accepted but untested hypothesis that undergraduates are better taught in solely undergraduate institutions—but that fresh instructional prototypes for the diffusion of language and area studies materials into the general education curriculum are less likely to be developed there. Hence, it seems natural that for a while some national funding should be especially earmarked for experimental programs at the level of the four- and two-year colleges.

Past experience indicates how difficult it is to make innovations relatively permanent and cumulative and to ensure their dispersal to other institutions. It is unfortunate that there are now no mechanisms whereby the experience of the various language and area studies centers currently in existence are shared, except as a few directors sit on the review panel for NDFL quota applications for other programs. It is even more important that regularized procedures for monitoring, evaluating, and communicating innovations that work—not just the grand a priori schemes—be established as we enter the diffusion stage of language and area studies.

I have so far been following the U.S. Office of Education's preference for accomplishing objectives by dealing in single university units called centers. Until now, this strategy has been quite useful in allowing sufficient critical mass to be accumulated on a single campus to carry out a project. Now that the current laissez faire system of encouraging all growth is about to be transformed into a deliberate effort to shape the general outline and cross-sectional representatives of language and area studies, some goals call for more individual, focused programs, as distinct from centers. For instance, if a minimum number of good specialists are to be trained in some of the scarcer disciplines, one device that better fits the natural style of higher education is to find individuals who already have the disciplinary and area competency and give them several fellowships to recruit with while ensuring to the student so selected full-term fellowship support until the training is completed. For another example, library collection building as just another contestant for scarce center funds gets more attention than it would if it had to compete for a share of the general university or even general library budget, but funds so spent do not permit the direct buttressing of complementary library resources so desperately needed for the field as a whole. A national program of support aimed directly at library building would be preferable. I have the feeling that the same is true for the rationalization of language instruction; the provision for support of this activity as a part of the general center support perpetuates the remarkable wastefulness of uncoordinated duplication of elementary language instruction on many campuses, the scant development at any of them of advanced instructional capacities, and the limited coverage of less commonly taught languages. I could make a similar case for certain kinds of research and for other activities, now dispersed, which might profit by more centralized direction.

My point is that, rather than simply to perpetuate the individual institution as the sole actor in the field, it would seem logical to ask afresh: For what types of activity is the "center" format not the best, and what should be the relationship of centers to these activities? Such flexibility is, after all, one of the advantages of the special purpose, categorical grants that NDEA Title VI represents, and its usefulness ought to be fully explored before this activity gets folded into the undifferentiated block grant to universities or to programs.

In the same spirit, it is necessary to warn against another natural tendency which results from the use of the individual center or institution as the grantee or contractor for external funding. It will be noted that when I talked of the different kinds of centers, I indicated some functions that might be special to each and some that overlap and might be carried out at several levels. By using the individual center as the exclusive unit of funding and by varying the funding competition according to different size classes and purposes as I suggested above, there is a real danger that the current fragmentation of effort will not only endure within each class but that the various levels will have no interconnections except in the office of the funding agency. Sometimes, because of administrative specialization, they do not even meet there. Hence, the natural reinforcing effect of strengths already built and experience already gained is lost, and each center, essentially, re-invents the wheel with the level of technology which that implies.

What makes relationships across size and functional classes durable, in addition to good will, which is a necessary but not a sufficient ingredient to stable relationships, is a symbiotic pattern in which each side gains. I have suggested earlier one possible model for such linkages across institutional size classes; there are, no doubt, others equally successful. If I may venture one suggestion, linkages are more durable when the parties share in the control of some body of funds. The financial boundaries of the centers need to be opened up, and some resources deliberately put into the interface where one center does things collectively with another and both share in the decision-making about the use of these resources.

This raises another organizational point. One of the problems of past collaboration and coordination has been that programs deal with each other through their directors, and such relationships tend to be within the same world area studies group and tend to extract the programs from their institutional setting. In point of fact, program directors are rarely in a position to make the kind of truly collaborative agreements that require intra-institutional commitment to cross-institutional arrangements. For such purposes, the unit should really be the university or college, should perhaps cover its full range of language and-area studies or even international studies programs, and should involve college and university administrators who can commit the university as a whole. As a beginning, the twenty or so universities with at least one top quartile quality program might join together as universities to coordinate the full range of their area studies programs. I do not mean just the partitioning of the world into complementary papal sees, such as Berkeley and UCLA tried a decade ago. What happens to such ventures is that the natural accretion of faculty members in the various disciplines who either bring or develop an area interest creates bootleg shadow programs on world areas the university may have agreed to forgo. I do mean some rationalization and sharing of resources, and concern for the joint profile of strength. The higher the administrative levels such coordination can involve, the better it will be.

To end this section on organization, let me call attention to a more basic organizational fact—a fact so basic that we do not really think about it at all, that is, that language and area studies are established within universities rather than separate research and/or training institutes. The decision goes as far back as World War II. While it is true that the

OSS gathered country specialists of various degrees of expertise into clusters to prepare background papers and to keep abreast of happenings in various areas of the world, the training of language and area specialists was placed on university campuses through the Army Specialized Training Programs (ASTP). Since that time, the various departmental offices of intelligence research and the "country" desks in the State Department have performed the wartime OSS functions. A few nonuniversity-related institutes, such as the Rand Corporation, have conducted research on aspects of United States policy with respect to various areas of the world, and governmental training institutes, such as the Foreign Service Institute and the Monterey Language School, have met special language and area training needs. But by and large, this has been a college- and university-related enterprise which, since World War II, has been linked not only physically to the colleges and universities, as was ASTP, but to their degree programs and to regular faculty appointments for staff as well. This decision has had important consequences, many of them obvious, some not so obvious. For example, it has made disciplinary area specialists, particularly in the social sciences, almost obsessed with their intellectual and organizational relationship with their disciplines; it has made the disciplinary profile and research interests of area specialists reflect those of the universities they inhabit; it has dictated the timing and rhythm of field visits; it has determined the nature of the competency credentials by which specialists are employed; it has raised career line problems for excellent language teachers with low publications records; it has limited and perhaps distorted both admission of candidates and output of specialists by making students fit the entrance and degree requirements of graduate schools. Moreover, language and area studies have to enter intra-university competition for scarce resources alongside enterprises of more immediate local interest and payoff, such as law, medical, and business schools, or smog control studies.

I am not suggesting that the placement of the main thrust of language and area studies in universities and colleges was a mistake. The tremendous outpouring of their own resources could not even conceivably be matched by any enterprise created from the whole cloth and, to put it simply, that's where the faculty and students are. One can conceive, however, of some of the functions of language and area studies being performed at a center or centers for research and training concerned with various parts of the world, either totally separate from universities or as partially interlinked, semi-academic institutions drawing faculty and students for variable periods of time depending upon the degree of area expertise required and the difficulty of the entry languages.

In particular, such a center or centers might most naturally pick up some of the national overhead functions I have mentioned throughout my discussion of the various sizes and types of centers. At present, many of these functions are supported out of general center budgets, but with the decline in the scale of external funding in the offing, these extra-institutional service functions are likely to be the first to go. This situation both calls for and provides an opportunity for facing these needs directly. Several functions now carried out in a dispersed fashion might well be done centrally. In each of the world area studies groups, some of the functions are now being performed by one or another of the many organizations in the field—for example, area studies professional associations, the SSRC-ACLS joint committees, IREX, the Asia Society, the Pan-American Union, the Japan Society, the American Council on Education, the Committee on the

Future of International Studies. Some of these functions might well be handled more effectively and expeditiously in a centralized fashion.Others should stay where they are. Activities that would lend themselves to centralization include:

1. Developing materials for specialists-to-be and teaching elementary language skills and the basic nondisciplinary-oriented, factual knowledge.
2. Developing and administering standardized language tests and individualized instructional materials.
3. Carrying language materials production from the stage where the linguist and informant have finished with it to the final copy, including rendering into script, typing, proofreading, and reproduction. (The current system of attaching this end process to each professional linguist who prepares materials is highly inefficient and results in the proliferation of teaching materials that are incomplete, half-born, dittoed lessons which never reach full maturity.)
4. Preparing and regularly circulating the substantive materials in area languages, graduated by difficulty and supplemented by glossaries and notes. (It will be recalled that this was one of the suggestions for raising and reinforcing the level of language competency of existing specialists.)
5. Creating machine storable and retrievable systems for general and specialized bibliographies.
6. Creating and maintaining a union catalogue of retrospective and current materials on the area.
7. Serving as the domestic base for joint overseas book acquisition programs.
8. Maintaining repository collections of the pamphlets, newspapers, government reports, and other materials which university libraries now treat as ephemera.
9. Coordinating and facilitating exchange of students and professors. (This would include a flexible pattern of short-term, more frequent visits.)
10. Providing a base for advanced research, an area studies replication of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto.
11. Providing an administrative base for multi-university, transnational collaborative research projects.
12. Managing the importation and touring of performing artists who visit American campuses.
13. Giving nonacademics an academic-style resource for area and language skill reinforcement and use.
14. Monitoring and recommending policy on the general cross-sectional profile on future growth needs of language and area studies.
15. Attending to the constant surveying, reporting, bookkeeping, and data bank storage that the new stage of more directed growth of language and area studies requires.
16. Performing liaison and informational functions between language and area studies and the government, business, or other nonacademic bodies.
17. Providing a secretarial and administrative base for area studies professional associations and other more ad hoc developmental committees and activities.

18. Encouraging growing networks of multinational, scholarly relationships concerning language and area studies, including representation at the many international organizational conferences dealing with relevant matters.
19. Conducting the joint summer programs which would provide both intensive language training and specialized area courses not available elsewhere.

However, I should add that unless a sufficient number of the functions are given to a centralized institution to develop a critical mass and to attract first-class people to it, we are better off with the dispersed pattern we now have. But even if a single or a few centers are not established to accomplish these purposes, perhaps this list will serve as an inventory of tasks that need to be undertaken to ensure the continued vitality of language and area studies.

In closing, let me note the many things I have not taken up in this report. I have not systematically taken up directly the very pressing question of rationalizing the accumulation and use of library resources. To adequately treat this topic calls for a major study in itself and for kinds of special expertise I do not possess. I have written elsewhere of the kinds of questions I would like to have such a survey answer.[2]

I have not dealt very fully with the needed new intellectual thrusts of the field. For one thing, I believe they are mostly discipline and world area specific; for another, the specialists in each field can and do write state-of-knowledge, where-we-are-going types of essays that serve the purpose of exhortative intellectual prescriptions. I do wish that each world area studies group would look at the others' intellectual postures and problems, because they have a great deal to teach each other. For one thing, the world area studies groups seem to form a progression, from the most to least specialized, and from the most to least distinct from general disciplinary concerns. Roughly in order, from least separate to most, they are Latin American, East European, African, South Asian, Middle Eastern, Southeast Asian, and East Asian studies. For another, they differ in the general development of the field, once again from least to most, Southeast Asian, African, South Asian, Middle Eastern, East European, East Asian, and Latin American studies. The same continuum, incidentally, would reflect the degree of importance placed on command of a language skill. My own feeling is that these differences reflect not only differences in world areas being studied, but basic forces in the development of a cycle of language and area studies. Hence, looking across world area studies groups provides a time dimension as well. I, for one, will be curious to see which of the two fully developed models wins out as the world area studies groups mature—the Latin American and East European models of separate language and literature departments with other area studies absorbed into the disciplines, or the cohesive and separate organizational style of the East Asian model which combines language and area.

And if I may be permitted the final word recording a conversion, I entered this study with a somewhat cynical notion that the key determinants of present and future trends would be money and bureaucracy. A little to my surprise, at every turn I found that the key determinants were intellectual and that the future of language and area studies rests not only on the contribution to their disciplines of those with language and area competencies but, what is examined much more rarely, the contribution of the disciplines to language and area studies. It is really too soon and the numbers involved are too small to predict the outcome as yet.

NOTES

1. Richard D. Lambert, "Patterns of Funding of Language and Area Studies," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 30 (February, 1971), pp. 399–412.

2. Richard D. Lambert, "Area Studies and the Library: A Plea for Data" (Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Research Libraries, June 30, 1970). Available in mimeographed form.

25

Patterns of Funding Language and Area Studies

Let me begin by indicating what I am not going to discuss.* I shall not, here, make the many arguments as to why language and area studies should be funded. This is being done eloquently by many people in the course of the current congressional consideration of the extension and funding of NDEA Title VI. I shall not, in this paper, deal with the question of the most appropriate general level of funding since I believe that some hard decisions have to be made about the most appropriate next steps in language and area studies before a total figure can be reached. And, with the impermanence of financial moral judgments in mind, I shall leave aside in this paper questions of the moral and ethical problems in the funding of Asian studies. I shall accordingly not discuss whether governmental or foundation funding is, in the lawyer's terms, "mala per se." I shall not discuss the propriety of covert vs. overt sources of funding, open vs. classified publications of results, or the proper uses of scholarly funding and expertise. Like everyone else I have personal opinions but I have no special expertise on these topics; moreover, they have been the subject of much public debate.

I believe that my contributions can be greatest if I indicate some of my preliminary impressions from the examination of funding I am now making as part of the Social Science Research Council's Review of Language and Area Studies.[1] You will understand that since the SSRC has not had the opportunity to consider these conclusions yet, they are my own and not those of the Council.

I should like to organize this presentation around a series of consequences for language and area studies of patterns of funding both past, present and possibly future. Sometimes these patterns were the result of conscious policy decisions upon the part of donors, sometimes byproducts of imbalances characterizing a cross section or historical sequencing of many different kinds of support programs, and sometimes unanticipated consequences of support programs set up for other purposes. I do not mean to imply that the current shape and character of language and area studies in the United States is entirely, or even principally, dependent upon funding influences. Area studies programs and the medieval institutions which they inhabit seem to have their own natural life styles which bend external funds to their own purposes no matter what the donor's intent. Moreover, the two principal sources of general support, the Ford Foundation and the NDEA Title VI administration, have, by and large, allowed institutions to manage the funds they dispersed according to their own priorities and needs. The ten-year terms for most Ford developmental grants to programs made autonomy even more certain, and the shift in contract form from a line item, matching fund basis to a general support basis on the part of NDEA Title VI relaxes even further the light rein that the donors kept on so-called "centers." Nevertheless, donor policy decisions, cross-sectional imbalances, and indirect consequences have played a part in the historical growth of language and area studies and it behooves us to ask ourselves whether some other patterns would be preferred if the availability of funds were no restriction. Conversely, what will the likely profile of language and area studies be if external financial support continues to contract, either relatively or entirely? On the basis of my impressions from having visited some 75 programs and the analysis of the partial survey data available to our project, I shall try to make some informed guesses on these matters. Let me now take up some of the historical funding decisions and consequences.

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* Reprinted from *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30 (February 1971): 399–412.

The first decision seems so natural to us that we don't really think of it as a decision at all: to build up the language and area studies establishment within universities rather than in separate research and/or training institutes. The decision goes as far back as World War II, when the training of language and area specialists was placed on university campuses through the Army Specialized Training Programs (ASTP). It is true that the OSS gathered country specialists of various degrees of expertise into clusters to prepare background papers and to keep abreast of happenings in various areas of the world. Since that time the various departmental offices of intelligence research, and the "country" desks in the State Dept. have performed the wartime OSS functions. A few non-university-related institutes such as the Rand Corporation have conducted research on U.S. policy with respect to various areas of the world, and governmental training institutes such as the Foreign Service Institute or the Monterey Language School have met special government language and area training needs. But by and large, training has been a college- and university-related enterprise, and since World War II it has been linked not only physically to the colleges and universities, as was ASTP, but to their degree programs and to regular faculty appointments for staff. This decision has had important consequences, many of them obvious, some not so obvious. For example, it has made area specialists, particularly in the social sciences, almost obsessed with their intellectual and organizational relationship with their disciplines; it has raised career line problems for excellent language teachers with low publications records; it has limited and perhaps distorted both admission of candidates and output of special lists by making students fit the entrance and degree requirements of graduate schools; language and area studies have had to enter intra-university competition for scarce resources alongside of enterprises of more immediate local interest and payoff such as law, medical, and business schools or smog control studies.

One could have set up centers for research and training concerned with various parts of the world either totally separate from universities or as partially interlinked, semi-academic institutes drawing faculty and students for variable periods of time depending upon the degree of area expertise required and the difficulty of the entry languages.

I will not belabor the costs and benefits of university-related centers vs. independent academies. No one is seriously suggesting that language and area studies in the U.S.

should now be separated from American higher education, although it might, for other reasons, be useful to create a supplemental national academy. I mention the decision to put language and area studies within universities so that, for a moment, I can undo the ordinary, I can bring you to a questioning frame of mind on the uses and nature of external funding so that commonplace virtues may be reappreciated and costs reassessed. Further, thinking of alternatives will stress what needs to be stressed: that the universities and colleges have contributed mightily from their own resources for this development.

It is a little difficult to arrive at hard figures as to the amount of government and private foundation support given to language and area studies. In the decade immediately following the Second World War, the principal support for the development of language and area studies came from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. In recent years, the largest and most constant source of general external funding has been NDEA Title VI which in fiscal year 1969 put $15 million into university programs and their students: some $6 million of it in support of 107 "centers." The comparable figure for Asian studies is about $2.5 million for some 42 programs in 1969. The other major contribution to general support to language and area studies programs is the Ford Foundation which provided about $5.7 million per year for Asian studies of which $840,000 went for fellowships and, according to the Education and World Affairs survey of international studies in 31 universities,[2] about $10.3 million per year for all language and area studies. No other donor came close to these figures although the Peace Corps and State Department were reported to have provided about $2 million each for all language and area studies. The Education and World Affairs (EWA) estimated total of external support in 1966–67 for language and area studies for the 36 universities was about $25.5 million, of which about $7 million was for Asian studies. This figure is low for Asian studies as a whole since Ford institutional support for Asian studies minus student support plus the "center" support under NDEA comes to about $7.5 million. Whatever the precise figure, and we should have a more accurate count soon, the sum is large.

One might, however, describe this not inconsequential amount as a bargain because universities have provided considerably more internal than external funding for area studies out of their own resources. We still have no overall figures on total university expenditures of their own funds on language and area studies although I hope our review will provide it. NDEA Title VI administration provides about 15% of the total financing for the programs they support. If we add 15% for Ford, we come to 30%, with universities providing 70% of the cost even for that tip of the iceberg that receives both NDEA center and Ford support. A preliminary tabulation of some of our review data shows that for 51 programs, a little more than a tenth of our total sample of programs, the total cost last year was $17,048,934, of which $6,001,750 or 35% was externally funded, $1,984,961 or 12% from NDEA and $2,600,386 or 15% from Ford, and $1,416,463 or 8% from other external sources. My guess is that as many smaller programs send in their returns, the proportion of university support will go up.

One could have provided for a few non-university centers of language and area studies for $6 million a year, but the more than $10 million provided internally for just this sample of programs would not have been available. It is an open question how much more the universities and colleges can and will provide if, as is threatened, both Ford and NDEA support are terminated, or even whether, in the absence of external funding for these activities, the universities and colleges will continue to provide as much as they do now. The anxiety level about this seems to go up as one goes from the individual professor to the top administration. I do know that on many campuses the appearance of even small amounts of government or Ford money is needed and is sufficient to bring out an administrative response.

The choice of a university base for language and area studies reflects another underlying assumption about the policy aims of external donors: that the primary purpose of language and area studies is to multiply bodies. The OSS and the Japanese occupation experience made the country aware of how few people had expert knowledge of the non-Western world. The shock of Sputnik, in whose wake NDEA was enacted, and American participation in Asian wars and in technical assistance in Asia and Africa, made the scarcity of specialists even clearer. Thus an unquestioned primary goal of language and area studies has been an expansion of manpower. Since the setting for this manpower training program was the college and university, the emphasis naturally fell on increasing the size of the faculty concerned with each world region in each institution and on the student-oriented educational process as the basis of legitimizing the support of programs. We will soon know roughly how many students have been produced by these programs; we do know that about 7,000 students have had NDFL's. Until recently at least, the primary aim of specialized manpower training was to swell the ranks of what Francis Sutton recently referred to as those "once tiny bands of specialists on Asia, Africa, the Soviet Union and Latin America," and with relatively few exceptions, the individual program's primary goal was to produce scholars in its own faculty's image or, rather, as the faculty members thought they might wish to be trained if they had it to do over again. In short, the programs were geared to the training of professional scholars and hence concentrated on graduate students. M.A. and Certificate programs are widely offered but often without much enthusiasm and, except for Latin American Studies, I fear that most of the training programs make few concessions to the non-academic oriented students. Fellowship support is almost exclusively available for graduate students and generally has either language and area training prerequisites, as in the Foreign Area Fellowship Training Fellowships, or language study requirements for holding the fellowships, as do the current NDFL's. Undergraduate oriented programs often see themselves as feeder institutions for the major graduate programs, and M.A. programs serve as university entry devices for students bent upon seeking disciplinary Ph.D.'s who might or might not otherwise be admitted.

Evidence for the manpower orientation of the donors may be seen in the phase-out plans for the NDEA Title VI programs in which general center support and research monies contract much more rapidly than the fellowship funds. Of the some $6 million requested for the next fiscal year, fellowships will go from $6.7 million to $2.95 million, but center support drops to $1.5 million and the number of programs supported drops from 107 to 50. Summer program support is eliminated entirely and research funds drop from $2.2 million to $500,000. Fulbright-Hays and most overseas extension projects will be eliminated.

There is some evidence that the Ford Foundation, at least in some of its divisions, is about to shift from an emphasis on the creation of new specialists to a philosophy of shoring up the current manpower supply, particularly its research capacities, rather than focussing on new recruits as has been done in the past.

It might be noted that in this period when graduate fellowships in general, and language and area studies fellowships in particular, are likely to contract sharply, some of the programs may come to regret the almost exclusive use of manpower increase as the justification of their intra-university support. The infinite increase philosophy also makes the field subject to a debate over the point at which supply meets and surpasses demand. It will be noted that the last Senate Appropriation Subcommittee report was issued immediately after the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association when the *Washington Post* carried a report from their sessions that a large number of new Ph.D. language teachers were encountering difficulty in finding jobs. The Senate committee noted in its own report proposing a budget cut that "initiating studies of the more neglected foreign languages has been achieved" and, in effect, concluded that from now on manpower training could take care of itself.

Even if we correct the language bias of this statement to include area studies, as does the National Defense Education Act, it is still a manpower oriented viewpoint, as was much of the questioning in the recent hearings before the two appropriations subcommittees. It was only because of unusual support on the Senate floor and the fact that House spokesmen in the Senate House Conference Committee held to their original figure that the drastic cut accompanying last year's Senate report was forestalled.

Well then, if manpower is the basis of the argument, how many specialists are there and how many do we need? As to the first, it depends on how you count them, that is how much and what kinds of expertise and self-identification you require. There are some 10,600 members, excluding students, in six professional area studies association.

In addition to area association members, there are many who have varying degrees of competency with respect to these areas and their languages. There are substantial numbers of language teachers, particularly in Russian and Spanish and Portuguese, who do not belong to these area associations. The National Register of Scientific Personnel reports 7,601 sociologists, psychologists, economists, linguistics, anthropologists, and geographers who claim a competency with respect to a country other than those in North America and Western Europe. A recent tabulation we did of professors in Ph.D. granting departments in the U.S. showed that 2,997 out of a total of 10,598 scholars in the social sciences or 28.3% had published at least one article or book on Asia, Africa, the Middle

Table 25.1: Nonstudent Members of Area Associations, Spring 1970

African Studies Association	2,000
American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies	1,950
American Oriental Society	850
Association for Asian Studies	3,100
Latin American Studies Association	1,900
Middle East Studies Association	800
Total	10,600

Table 25.2: Area-Related No. of Ph.D.'s by World Area for NDFL Recipient Programs, 1964–69

Area	No Programs *	Area studies	Humanities	Soc. Sci.	Other	Total
Latin America	29	225	271	340	70	906
Eastern Europe	24	45	175	84	14	318
Near East	23	175	136	108	13	432
Africa	13	8	22	90	21	141
South Asia	18	79	32	130	32	273
Southeast Asia	4	48	8	55	18	129
Totals	111	580	644	807	168	2,199

* Not all programs reported any Ph.D. output.

East, Latin America, or East Europe; 2,553 or 54.1% had written more than half their work on these areas. There are about 2,000 faculty members in the 107 NDEA centers and about 4,000 in all the about 150 programs which received Title VI fellowships last year.

As Table 25.2 indicates, there have been some 2,199 Ph.D.'s produced by the major language and area studies programs in the past five years.

In our study we have recognized the problem of shifting boundaries in the definition of area specialists and we are urging each scholar receiving our questionnaire to indicate on a seven point scale his degree of identification with an area specialization. We have mailed the questionnaires to 12,600 faculty members and senior nonacademic specialists—as wide a group as we could assemble. We shall see how they identify themselves.

Whether there are enough "bodies" or not depends upon how you figure need. If it is to populate present graduate language and area studies training programs, and to retain about the present size distribution of programs, then in terms of absolute numbers there may be enough now in Latin American, Eastern European, East Asian, Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies, and the NDEA "baby boom" which came with the first major bulge in fellowships in 1962 and 1963 has just begun to hit the job market. Many graduates of language and area studies programs are already being hired as loner scholars away from other specialists on their area or at institutions without major graduate language and area studies programs on their areas. Southeast Asian and African Studies are not so well populated.

However, if we take our eyes for a moment off the staffing of various sizes and levels of language and area studies programs themselves, the supply and demand picture changes. If the goals shift to a penetration of general education, teacher training for liberal arts colleges and secondary schools, to teaching in secondary schools themselves, or to training sufficient people for non-academic pursuits such as government or journalism, the number of qualified personnel with a combination of first-hand experience in the countries they work with and a modicum of training in the area and/or its language seems pitifully small. The penetration of undergraduate education at the institutions where language and area centers are located has taken place. In 1966 it was estimated that three quarters of the enrollment in NDEA center courses was undergraduate.[3] This figure is inflated somewhat by the heavy undergraduate enrollment in Spanish, but for East Asia the figure was 78%. South Asia and Southeast Asia have comparatively more graduate enrollments, with 54% and 58% undergraduate, respectively. Our survey will be able to update these figures and to separate language and area courses, but my current impression is that while undergraduate students are admitted to all but the most advanced graduate courses, for Asian Studies at least most of the enrollments in area courses are in survey and introductory courses and in the language courses in the first and second year, and except for language and literature majors the language and area centers do not really encourage undergraduate specialization, in fact often do not know how many undergraduates are training to be specialists or who they are.

It is still too early to give a full picture of the career lines of graduates of language and area programs, although we hope our study will enable us to do so, and it is interesting to note that very few programs themselves have an overall picture of where their graduates have gone. It is clear, however, that not very many places bend very far to train nonacademics or to train their graduates for educational careers below the level of the graduate research programs, even though a substantial portion of their students may go into these pursuits. The "summer school" solution looks good theoretically, but is prey to the previous commitments of scholars busy with other affairs and to the general academic estivation. Many academic programs, particularly for what is called "faculty enrichment," have done well for limited groups for brief periods of time, but if the diffusion model is to be successful, the next step must be worked at.

Surely the training of professors is only one of the national needs that language and area studies programs can perform. Looked at from the demand as well as the supply side, it is a bit surprising that only in Latin American Studies and to a much more limited extent in Middle East Studies have businessmen become involved as either supporters or consumers of the graduates of language and area studies programs. International business now, and from all reports in the future, is likely to need more and more personnel with the kind of expertise that language and area studies training can provide. One wonders why they and the language and area studies programs have not discovered each other.

Most language and area studies programs have a fairly standard life history. In the first stage, area studies materials are introduced into undergraduate and graduate disciplinary courses by a "been there" faculty member. This is usually followed by the creation of an introductory survey course on the civilization or recent history, culture and peoples of a region as a whole. This is generally followed by a smattering of first-level disciplinary survey courses relating to the area. By this time, there are usually already enough faculty members with like area interests around for them to make a proto-program. Then the program, usually with some administrative tag or other, tends to spread laterally through the disciplines and looks for a sympathetic local academic administrator—the more highly placed the better—and seeks funds from NDEA or Ford, and recognition from other colleagues in the field. Along the way the fledgling program copes with the classic problems of library inadequacies; supporting an expensive language program for very few students; getting opportunities for the faculty and students to get to the countries they study; planting new faculty members in as many departments as possible; and fighting off inter-university raiding, selective attrition and too rapid a staff and student turnover. To grow to the minimal critical mass necessary for survival takes external money, both for what it buys and for the symbolic recognition and on-campus clout that it brings. It also takes an aggressive entrepreneur both to win the money and to use it effectively. Such is the natural history of many programs spread out through the various size classes. Language and area programs also seem to have a senescence stage after the primordial entrepreneur passes from the scene. Then the many ad hoc agreements by which the program was rapidly built have to be made into more permanent arrangements, and the undergrowth of faculty initiative stunted by the shadow of the entrepreneur has to be stimulated.

The NDEA program encouraged this natural growth pattern very well since its policy was to create more and more centers dispersed widely both geographically and by class of institution—diffusion by multiplication of specialist training centers. By this year about 150 programs qualified for NDFL fellowship support and 107 programs got "center" support for their faculty salaries and general activities. It should be noted that not all of the 107 "centers" get fellowship support, and those programs supported as centers are not necessarily the largest and most developed or most productive of Ph.D.'s of the 150 programs that receive NDFL fellowships, nor are all those which are of sufficient scale to qualify for center status so designated. In the last round of applications to become NDEA centers in 1966 there were 71 additional programs which might have qualified for center status of which only 8 were selected. The original NDEA decision to create some undergraduate programs which would receive center but not graduate fellowship support created a set of programs officially labelled "undergraduate." The distinction, however, quickly became blurred as "undergraduate" programs qualified for, applied for, and got graduate fellowships. In general, undergraduate scholarships for language and area studies have been conspicuous by their absence. Only the summer NDFL's to my knowledge had separate undergraduate quotas and last year those quotas disappeared back into the general competition, although undergraduates were still eligible. They are not eligible for academic year NDFL's, or for any other similar fellowship program with which I am familiar. High school penetration has been even spottier, although an occasional successful local program has been launched, particularly in language training. However, of those which I have examined, very few have taken root.

Becoming an NDEA center even with very little money attached, or even winning a few NDFL fellowships without center status, is an important affirmation of separate and viable status on a campus. The annual sweepstakes for gaining, dropping or staying even in numbers of fellowships received is a most important event which has local repercussions far beyond the effect of the one or two odd fellowships involved. It is interesting to note that the International Education Act, except for its so-called centers of excellence (incidentally a strange list of institutions as entered into the *Congressional Record*[4] during the hearings on this bill), was heavily diffusionist in its orientation and in its last incarnation when only $2 million was asked, practically all of it was to go for undergraduate training centers. It was never clear whether this was a substitute for or a supplement to NDEA support for graduate level programs. If the International Education Act had been funded it does seem likely that the intra-U.S. geographic distribution of federal funds for international studies would have changed radically as well as shifting emphasis from an area to a topical approach.

Table 25.3: Members of Ph.D. Granting Departments in Selected Disciplines Who Have Published on Africa, Asia, East Europe, Latin America and Middle East

Discipline	Under 50% of pubs. on areas	50% plus on areas	Any pubs. on areas	Total Faculty
Anthropology	60	344	404	784
Economics	105	212	317	1,907
History	64	583	647	2,266
Linguistics + literature	55	635	690	2,063
Political science	84	456	540	1,782
Sociology	41	94	135	997
Area studies	15	213	228	326
Social science	1	15	16	72

While some of the funding strategies have emphasized the training of more and more specialists and others have concentrated on a less specialist-oriented diffusion of language and area studies downward into larger and larger, lower and lower segments of the educational process as whole, a few have begun to encourage more selective growth. They seek to nurture the study of specific languages, disciplines and countries either just because they are comparatively under-represented in language and area studies today, or, as with the Ford Foundation, because some rationale external to the field itself—such as a policy or development orientation, or foreign policy considerations—makes the discipline or country or language of greater importance. One hears around Washington these days the phrase "problem orientations." The new emphasis on currently neglected aspects reflects a desire to compensate for the national imbalances. Since most early general support was largely laissez-faire as to discipline and latterly as to languages both for faculty and students; and since the natural domain for language and area studies—that is those disciplines within which it fits intellectually more comfortably—is language and literature and, among the social sciences, history, anthropology, and parts of political science; it is in these disciplines that most of the faculty, and students, can be found. Table 25.3 shows, by discipline, those devoting a minority or a majority of their publications to one or another of the world areas outside of North America and Western Europe.

Aside from psychology, which is almost never represented in language and area studies programs, the most parochial of the social science disciplines are sociology and economics; anthropology is the least parochial. The proportion of those writing on one of the "non-Western" areas ran from a high of 51.5% for anthropologists to 13.5% and 16.5% for sociologists and economists, respectively. Incidentally, sociology and economics are the two disciplines most often mentioned by program directors as the next two they would like to add to their staff. They usually do not even think about psychology and consider sociology a highly unlikely recruit. This disciplinary imbalance is in spite of a strong drive in almost all area programs to fill in the missing disciplines. The universality and strength of this drive comes from the model which even the smallest program has of what an ideal program should look like. Following the "know thy enemy" origins of language and area studies, the ideal program involves maximal lateral spread among the disciplines with depth in only one or more of the core disciplines: anthropology, history, political science and language.

I know of no funding policy which is trying to fill in the gaps cross-sectionally. The motive seems much more like the old, old yardstick measuring the worthwhileness of disciplines by their practical payoffs. Recently, the Ford Foundation decided, for understandable reasons based upon their redefinition of their "mission," to phase out the overall international training and research (ITR) programs and to merge domestic support of scholarly resources for work on other countries in with their development-oriented overseas operations. Hence, Ford has become increasingly concerned with the dearth of scholars in the applied disciplines who have expert knowledge of the countries in which Ford's overseas missions are located. The implementation of this fresh orientation is along several lines. First, they let it be known that support of area studies in the U.S. will largely hinge upon a demonstration of the developmental relevance of the research and teaching expertise. I recently helped coordinate a Ford-funded major self-evaluation of South Asian Studies in which, mixed in with some solid planning and a fair amount of mutual blood-letting, were occasional unseemly efforts to show developmental relevance to even the most esoteric of our studies. A second Ford approach has been to fund directly what are called resource pools of scholars in American universities in applied and developmental disciplines. Such "resource pools," like their AID counterparts, are rarely manned by the people in the language and area teaching cadre. Another device has been to insist that a fixed proportion of the fellowships in the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and some seats on the selection committees be reserved for applied and developmental fields. These three strategies, resulting from Ford's preference for overseas mission-oriented activities, reflect much broader past, present, and, probably even more overwhelmingly, future funding emphases.

While no one questions the right of mission-oriented foundations and government agencies to scrutinize the expenditure of their funds for mission-relevance, when it so happens that cross-sectionally all or most funding sources come to emphasize only one or a few "missions," there is a danger that area studies will find itself inhabited by the classic morality play in American academic life which pits "pure" research against problem solving, the modern vs. the historical (it will be noted that almost all funding programs prefer or insist on the former), elegance vs. relevance. On individual campuses this drama plays itself out in the form of undernourished humanities faculties and comparatively stronger problem-oriented schools and institutes, including the new royalty—urban planners and ecologists. Part of the strength of language and area studies on many campuses is that they have allowed a section of the humanities division to join in a modest fashion the "fat cat" league, participating in that process which, by necessity, obsesses many university administrations—the bringing in of outside money.

Conversely, it is my guess that if external money for language and area studies were to disappear, as it may well do in the near future, many area-focused campus programs would contract to the humanities and the particularistic social sciences, such as anthropology and history, where they started. And, as we noted in Table 25.3, language and area studies are strongest in these disciplines now. These are precisely the disciplines whose intellectual orientation is least pointed toward problem solving. One result is to further separate the disciplines as problem solvers concentrate on the behavioral, professional, and applied end of the continuum and the language and area specialists, picking up where they leave off, concentrate on those disciplines favoring the particularistic, "pure" scholarship and erudition rather than payoff. In fact, perhaps to overstate the case, scholars in the primary area studies disciplines and the problem solvers tend to consider each other's work trivial, as not answering the interesting or important questions. This disciplinary divide in part explains why: (1) in spite of the thunderous urging of many a scholarly conference, the practitioner-scholar gap in professional activities relating to an area, with very few exceptions and those largely related to Latin American Studies, has not been more effectively bridged; (2) my quick review of the publications of some 400 Ford Foundation consultants in India found only five persons who had been connected with language and area studies programs; (3) language and area studies programs, topically oriented behavioral research projects, and technical assistance programs can coexist on many campuses with almost no interaction among them.

In fact, not only do these three tend not to interact on the same campus, but my current impression is that viewed from a national perspective, they tend to be on separate campuses. It is as if a partitioning of roles was somehow accomplished, with one set of colleges and universities engaging in language and area studies, another in large-scale, behavioral project research with respect to these areas, and another dispersing technical assistance. There have been some imaginative attempts to combine these three such as the Berkeley-centered program of professional apprenticeships in India, the new AID university contracts which include research and writeup time support, the proposed new SSRC emphasis on raising the theoretical and methodological sophistication of language and area studies, or more direct organizational links such as those at Pittsburgh or Wisconsin, but by and large, the three sets remain separate. Aside from the wastage which this separation produces—for instance, only through the language and area studies program is overseas experience permanently institutionalized into the teaching process—the pattern and scale of funding which these three groups get tend to be very different. It is my hunch, and we will be able to test this notion, that most language and area specialists visit the country they study on a year's leave of absence, supported by individual research fellowships which pay for their salary and travel but not for the ancillary research costs that a large-scale project provides for such fellowships; the amount of funds needed is relatively small, and affects only the individual research. The predominance of such fellowships for language and area studies research results in a distinct rhythm whereby the scholar periodically spends his year in the field collecting as much data as possible, brings it home, digests it, writes his book over a five-year period, after which he is ready for another trip. Contrast this with what is available to the scholar engaged in large-scale project research: more money, higher overhead allowances, more continuous overseas contacts, a greater number of people involved, and greater interaction of domestic and overseas participants at the project planning, data collection and data processing stages.

Moreover, for the technical-assistance-oriented scholar, and for the practitioner, the conduct of research is merely part of the project, not its primary purpose. For those not engaged in research, internationally oriented activity by and large begins and ends with the foreign sojourn. For some reason, advice giving seems actually to inhibit research. The technical advisor and research role, perhaps because of the different personal postures they call for, are rarely mixed in the field, even when people known for their research output at home find themselves in an overseas advisory position.

All of this suggests that there are some more fundamental structural problems which must be solved before the three principal overseas-related campus activities can better coalesce. Clearly, exhortations have not worked, and shifts in external funding will not work, nor, I fear, will the quota system for fellowships illustrated by the FAFP strategy—if this is all that is done. Even less effective will be the drying up of funds for language and area studies while maintaining those for other kinds of international studies activities, in the expectation that area specialists will be money-tropic enough to embrace problem solving. Many language and area specialists had a notion that that was what the International Education Act was really all about, an impression hardly dissuaded by the method of the assignment of data papers and the rhetoric of the administrators-to-be. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the cross-sectional disciplinal imbalance and de facto guild separations can be radically altered.

Another kind of imbalance is now receiving some attention. There have been some funding policy decisions which have been aimed at equalizing the uneven concentrations of scholars among the different world areas. For instance, in the creation of new NDEA centers, officials use a priority scale reflecting the relative scarcity of existing programs, that is, Latin American Studies have the lowest priority and Africa and Southeast Asia have the highest. It is also true that facilities for teaching the scarcer languages are also given greater emphasis, although the old system of allocating preferences for NDFL fellowship awards by individual languages has been dropped. But the broad world area rubrics which we have adopted and which the funding patterns have reinforced obscure the fact that the world area umbrella frequently hides a very uneven coverage of the different countries and languages within the polyglot, multinational area. We are now collecting data on the country-specific competency of area specialists and already it is clear that the general term "South Asia specialist," "Southeast Asia specialist," "Africanist," or "Latin America specialist" masks real *terra incognita* within these regions. We are made aware of such within-region imbalances particularly when a sudden need for expertise develops, as in the case of Vietnam, but there is a longish list of potential successors—for instance, in South Asia alone, Afghanistan and to a lesser extent Ceylon and Pakistan. This too is something we have many times talked about, passed resolutions on and set up committees for over a period of at least 15 years to my knowledge.

There are many other funding patterns I could discuss which have had rather important consequences for the development of language and area studies. Let me just list a few with a brief indication of some of the consequences:

(1) The wholesale and almost exclusive adoption of the oral-aural method of instruction. One consequence has been that there has been a dearth of both staff and materials for teaching the uncommon languages beyond the second year, up to which point standardized drill manuals are easily constructed by linguists and informants. Few linguists are very concerned with post-second-year language instruction, placing the transition to advanced skills and written work in the no-man's land between the introductory drill master and the teacher of literature.

(2) The almost exclusively research orientation of funds available for overseas sojourn. This has meant that good teachers at liberal arts colleges who may not have the background or skills to compete for scarce fellowships on the basis of a sophisticated research design have had difficulty getting the overseas exposure they need.

(3) The notion that the only proper time for overseas study by students is at the dissertation stage. Increasingly, students are coming into graduate language and area studies programs with overseas experience in the field. It might be considered afresh as to the relative advantage of several visits stretched out over the length of training rather than one at the end. Some of the Latin American programs maintain field stations for this purpose now.

(4) Area knowledge is needed to really master a language. I will only comment that under this correct maxim a great deal of area training and relatively slight language mastery have often been provided.

(5) The academic year basis of faculty fellowships. Except for Latin America, this tends to limit trips to the area to those times when a full leave of absence can be obtained, usually every 4th or 5th year at the most. From this flows much of the rhythm of research, the lack of collaboration with overseas scholars in the analysis of the data, the lack of short interim trips for updating of information, refamiliarization and filling of data gaps. It also means that scholars must reestablish contacts almost from scratch for each new visit, and the planning for research is almost always done at home instead of in the area. Another consequence is the serious loss of language skills in the interim and the necessity to revive a level of fluency for each trip. A very hard look at the relationship between the most productive rhythms of research and the conditions under which research funds are available is long overdue.

(6) Preference for consortium support over individual program support. This can work well among institutions of equal size or on other grounds of natural homogeneity but consortia have often been created almost entirely on the basis of geographic contiguity. For funding sources, the creation of consortia has the appeal of simplicity and cuts down the number of supplicants at the door of the donor. For the participants, however, it may be somewhat less than helpful.

There are many more that could be mentioned, but I think my general point has been well enough made, that is that funding decisions, either individually or cumulatively, have important intellectual and organizational consequences. We will need to examine them more closely as we move from what we may come to look back on as a golden age of abundant, relatively unspecific developmental support for language and area studies. Under this policy, the growth has been nothing short of spectacular. Even if the level of funding is to be maintained or increased, I doubt if the programs will or should follow all of the same assumptions. I hope this paper and the fuller study to follow will help us to begin the necessary self-examination which makes the next step apparent.

NOTES

1. This study has been made possible through financial support of the Institute of International Studies, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

2. Irwin T. Sanders and Margie M. Reinhart, *The Crisis of Dollars: The Funding Threat to International Affairs in U.S. Higher Education*. N.Y.: Education and World Affairs, September 1968.

3. Stanley Wilcox and Maxwell Flappan, "Ten Years of NDEA," Office of International Studies, U.S. Office of Education, 1969.

4. Dept. of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. Appropriations for 1968. Higher Education for International Understanding pp. 1046–1047. (Available in U.S. Govt. Repository, Congressional Hearings and Committee Reports, June 1967 #9144, Card 25.)

26

Some Minor Pathologies in the American Presence in India

This article is essentially a crevice-filler.* The preceding articles have discussed overseas Americans in terms of their purposes for being abroad, with the exception of the tourists, their success in carrying these out, and, to some extent, their problems of adjustment in achieving their goals. The present article is more trivial. I am not here concerned with their goals for being abroad, nor even with how well they accomplish them. I am concerned with two aspects of residence abroad by Americans that the preceding articles have left largely untouched. One is what might be called the valence of Americans toward their foreign experience, that is, the extent to which Americans are, in general, favorably impressed, neutral, or hostile toward their overseas environment. This will be discussed both as a series of alternatives, as is implied by the Useems' cross-sectional analyses,[1] and as a process or series of stages through which many Americans pass. My second concern is with the gap between the usually favorable, if occasionally condescending, treatment that individual Americans receive and the greater ambivalence felt toward them as a whole and toward the larger American presence in general.

I speak of the first of these two phenomena, the adjustment choices and sequences, as a pathology because I shall be emphasizing the extremes of the positive and negative valences, and also because I shall be treating them as if they were ailments which people catch, recover from, and develop immunity to. I speak of it as minor because its effects, although highly visible, are more comic than tragic, something like a case of mumps, which, unless unusual complications set in, leave no serious aftereffects. I speak of the second as a pathology both from the point of view of the Americans who often have difficulty in judging when the individual or collective valence is being invoked by Indians and from the point of view of India which often finds itself acting in two conflicting ways at the same time as it tries to deal with Americans both collectively and individually. I speak of it as minor because as yet this strain is not too serious in most countries, certainly not so serious as it became in China, and perhaps for a while in Indonesia where the collective hostile valence won out. The gap is also made tolerable by a degree of bureaucratic slippage in which individual Americans are regularly allowed to circumvent or be exempted from corporate restrictions.

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* Reprinted from *Americans Abroad*, ed. Richard D. Lambert, vol. 368 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1966), pp. 157–70.

I shall confine my substantive comments to the American community in India, in part to complement the Useems' excellent articles and in part because this is the overseas community that I know best. Except for the specifics of the culture context, however, many of the things that I shall say will refer with equal strength to Americans in other countries as well, or for that matter to transnational sojourns in general. For instance, the studies that we have made of Indian students in the United States[2] show many striking parallels to the experience of Americans in India. The major difference is which end of the status stick they are holding onto, high or low; the dynamics are very much the same. But that is another story.

THE ADJUSTMENT CURVE

The process of cross-cultural adjustment is usually described as following some variant of the "U," "J," or "reverse J" curve, reflecting a sequence of sentiments experienced by a visitor, starting with euphoric in the case of the "U" curve or neutral in the case of the "J," sliding down into a period of disenchantment, then bottoming out at hostility and gradually working its way up to reasonable calm with the "reverse J" or predeparture nostalgia with the "U." The "W" curve adds on the matching adjustment cycle which occurs on re-entry into one's own culture. Such a descriptive model, while relatively accurate for most people, does not clarify the specific mechanics of the transformation or the attitudes and behavior which characterize it. It is with these aspects that I am here concerned.

Most Americans in India seem to experience, in greater or lesser degree, a common process, one that carries with it alternative choices at various stages in the process which may deepen or foreshorten the minor pathologies inherent in it. It seems, in short, a situational imperative with which all must deal in some fashion. For some Americans it is trivial and interferes not at all with their main purpose in being in India; for others it is central and may substantially cripple or enrich the sojourn depending upon the choices made. In terms of the Useems' cross-sectional classification, the "experienced" find it trivial, the "old hands," crippling, and those skilled in the "third culture," enriching. My discussion in the first part of this paper, since it follows a time sequence, will start with the "first-trippers." I shall not discuss either the frustrations and satisfactions of the work role, since these have been covered extensively in other papers, or the health and householding difficulties, which are covered in Ruth Useem's paper, although they, too, are powerful contributors to the "J" curve.

There is one distinguished Indian litterateur who, using the analogy of the Island of Circe,[3] argues that India transforms fundamentally attractive Westerners into swine, but this judgment seems a bit harsh. India does seem to affect us, however, and often even before we arrive. Our American "collective unconscious" has accumulated over the years a vast clutter of highly colored impressions of India. Individual Americans tend to be strongly attracted or repelled, rarely neutral, toward India both before and during their stay, and their experience there leaves a strong afterglow in their lives.

Most Americans come to India with a mixture of curiosity and foreboding. The most common predeparture questions one hears have to do with anticipated health problems. One consequence is that many middle- and upper-class Indians are insulted by American guests who treat everything in their house as if it were thick with leprosy or some other loathsome disease. To the extent that Americans have previously lived outside of the Western world, these anxieties are considerably reduced, but it does seem that no amount of formal training about the country or predeparture orientation really disarms it. It seems to have as much to do with the character of Americans and their upbringing as it does with India. But aside from these early health anxieties, which for those whom I shall call the "enclaved Americans" persist throughout their stay, individual Americans bring different degrees of enthusiasm for and identification with their host country. Most of them start well up on the initial slope of the "J" curve.

Going Native

At the extreme is a xenophiliac devotion to things Indian, with its usual accompaniment, a self-abasing denigration of things American, which leads to what in the prebeatnik era used to be called "going native," although how many of the host-country ways have to be adopted before one is considered to have "gone native" depends upon the chauvinism of the beholder. In its complete form it involves an attempt to cast off all symbols of separateness and to take on as many as possible of the ways of the host country. It is rarely completely successful, is uniformly greeted with hostility by other Americans, and brings out mixed feelings in Indians—some appreciation of the flattery of imitation and denial of the presumed claims of racial superiority which they read in the eyes of many "Europeans," but also a feeling of suspicion and a little disdain for someone who is presumed to be *declassé* in his own society and who has no real role in Indian society. To Indians, the American "gone native" is someone whose behavior cannot be anticipated or placed in a context, as can even the most "colonial" of his countrymen.

If successfully carried out, however, the denial of racial identification, with its presumed renunciation of a high living style, can gain considerable sympathy from Indians. It is a kind of ascetic gesture, a refraining from available luxuries that has a prestigeful counterpart in Indian culture. The Peace Corps has successfully institutionalized the ascetic gesture for Americans in India, after some grave initial doubts on the part of the government of India and the Indian public. Each Peace Corpsman, however, has to spend a good deal of time establishing and re-establishing his bona fides and finding some culturally acceptable explanation of his motivation for self-denial. Such explanations are most incredible to the least sophisticated, lower-class urban or village dwellers among whom, except for a few clearly culturally defined, mostly religious roles, self-interest is the presumed prime motivator of everyone's behavior, no matter with what poetry it is presented.

The Enthusiast

Short of "going native" there are varying degrees of identification with the host country which mark the prearrival and tourist phase of the American first-tripper. At one extreme is what might be called the enthusiast, the indiscriminate and unfailing admirer of all things Indian, although he makes no attempt to become Indianized. Some Americans are enthusiasts long before their arrival in India; a few maintain it throughout their stay. At the outset, the enthusiast's indiscriminateness and lack of information can be embarrassing to the hosts, although I suppose that as many Indians as Americans like to be told that their ways lie at the apex of the cultural and social-evolutionary spiral.

The things admired tend to take a rather stereotyped form, since they all must lie in the public culture, that limited area of Indian behavior that is available to strangers. So much of Indians' behavior is family-centered and private that few Americans get more than a small sample of how Indians behave. On the other hand, the externals are highly visible and easy of access. For Western women, one index of enthusiasm is the frequency of wearing a sari. This costume is attractive on Western women only on those semiceremonial occasions when everyone is elegantly and awkwardly dressed or when, on other occasions, they remain rather still. Otherwise it calls for a gait and posture not natural for Western women, and its assumption is somewhat less than graceful as a compliment to their hosts. Even fewer men can successfully wear a dhoti, no matter how cool and loose it is in the summer heat.

Aside from items of dress, the mark of the enthusiast is the preference for Indian-style food; attending night-long musical recitals; making the grand and the local tour of temples; a fondness for Indian films; a smattering of language lessons; some social welfare work in a captive village; rummaging for original miniatures, brass work, textiles, and other handicrafts; attending weddings and other public ceremonials; and collecting, specimen fashion, acquaintances with as great a number of Indians as possible. Some of these activities are part of the tourist phase for all Americans; it is their number, persistence, and degree of fervor that characterize the enthusiast.

The Cornucopia Role

Most middle-class Indians seem to enjoy for some of the time, and many for an incredibly long time, nurturing these tourist activities, even repeatedly with different generations of newcomers. The genuine helpfulness of middle-class Indians to Americans wishing to do the sightseeing rounds is remarkable. Somewhere early in the process, however, the enthusiast usually has his ardor dampened a bit, and he is perhaps pushed a little down the initial slope of the "J" curve, by encountering what may be called a cornucopia role, that is, some one of the set of Indians who frequently interact with foreigners tries to use his acquaintanceship for some purpose of his own. For instance, Americans are usually outraged when, after the second cup of tea, their host asks them to assist his son or brother to get to the United States or to give him a job far above his qualifications or to risk going to jail by changing all dollars into rupees through the host. They find this a violation of their most sacred, least explicit norms—the occasions and techniques for using social friendships for private gain. In American society, one should measure carefully the favor asked against the depth of the friendship, and use the friendship only rarely. The American is both embarrassed and embittered that someone would treat instrumentally what is regarded as a friendly occasion.

The mettle of the enthusiast it tested by his reaction to this encounter. For some Americans, these isolated experiences are read as a general pattern, discounting the genuine helpfulness of even casual Indian acquaintances, and it makes them curtail their attendance at social functions until they are sure of the structuring and purpose of the occasion. The wise American gives it as little social meaning as it really has in Indian society.

Coping Difficulties and Language

But there are other pressures that make this initial enthusiast stage short-lived and which grease the downward slope of the adjustment curve. First there is a physical weariness induced by the constant demand for at least surface attention to coping with things in the daily routine which at home would be so routinized as to demand no attention. Aside from the obvious problems of setting up a household and meeting bodily needs, most Americans have had no experience in trying to cope where their mother tongue is not understood or is misunderstood, and the somewhat spotty prevalence of English in India makes other language usage there harder for Americans to abide. Adding to this frustration is a kind of subliminal language-listening in which, in spite of the certain knowledge that one cannot, one tries to understand what is being said in another language through attending to tone of voice, cadence, emphasis, and gestures. The frustration arises from the fact that many of these habitual cues are meaningless or mean the wrong things, although many people believe that there is a universally comprehensible, latent language, and that if one speaks slowly, clearly, loudly, and repetitively enough in one's own language as if to a child, another person should understand, even if the words have no meaning.

Nationality and Status

Perhaps the most important of "J" curve creators is the American's involvement with his national status. Americans abroad for the first time are often surprised to find the extent to which their personal status is bound up with their nationality. When they are in their own country and surrounded by other Americans, their relations with other people are determined by a number of different background, personality, and situational criteria, but not their nationality. Once abroad, this becomes the first and most important classifier and determiner of the quality of one's interaction with others. To many Americans, this new, all-pervasive status determinant seems unfair; they want to be judged at least part of the time as themselves, meaning, of course, a somewhat exalted positioning on the old status criteria they used back home. This is precisely what long-term residents seek to achieve through building up local friendships—an area of cross-cultural interaction where the more personal status-definers count. It is also a prime motive for enclaving, that is, restricting the bulk of one's associations to fellow countrymen with whom one can utilize the familiar cues.

Perhaps, instead of fellow countrymen, I should have said fellow "Europeans," since status identification for Americans in India is first of all racial and only secondly national. Thus, the American's first sensation is not just that of being judged by the stereotypical reputation of his nation, but of having a high degree of inescapable visibility and racial status. Their constant visibility runs counter to an almost physical hunger for privacy among Americans, a demand that is frustrated by the high densities of the local populace, with its seemingly constant crowds, and the American's feeling of having no occasion for anonymity.

But the overriding status determinant is not racial but national. This is more than the erroneous expectations on the part of his hosts of how an American will behave. There is an evaluation buried in the stereotypes, an implicit or explicit judgment of the relative worth-whileness of Americans vis à vis Indians. An overseas American, therefore, is concerned with Indians' image of the United States and the effect on it of other Americans' behavior, not just because he sees himself as an unofficial ambassador or because he has an overwhelming sense of patriotism, but because the general status of America and Americans in general is very germane to his own self-esteem and to the subordination-superordination relationships he has with the peoples he meets.

This explains why even those who were Stateside isolationists or those who, in reading the newspaper, never got past the comics, stocks, and sports become passionately involved in the zigs and zags of American foreign policy or the news of racial rioting, and become especially alarmed at the running caricature of these and other Americana in the local press. It pushes them to defend practices and people in the United States with which they would normally not agree. I have seen politically liberal college professors launch spirited defenses of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy when I knew that at home they wept with Joseph Welch at the spectacle of his onslaughts. It accounts, in part, for the great popularity of *Time Magazine* overseas, since, in addition to providing him news in a lively calypso style, it presents a weekly defense of American foreign policy and local affairs. Just to make American superiority clearer, it occasionally provides commentaries on other countries, particularly non-Western countries, that sometimes appear to the inhabitants of those countries as patronizing, snide, and full of unsought advice.

Anti-Indian Reactions

For the American who finds trying the lack of unfailing appreciation of things American among his hosts, the second *Time* function is as important as the first. One reaction to the gap between an American's self-esteem and the somewhat lower status he perceives as being given to his nation by his hosts is to choose to emphasize negatively valued aspects of his hosts' culture. If he makes this choice, he is beginning to slide well down into the "J" curve. For the denigration of his host country, he can quickly avail himself of a ready stock of hostile statements which are preserved, nurtured, and regularly served up at social gatherings by the more alienated of the permanent cadre in the American enclave.[4] Such statements are highly stereotyped, even to the illustrative stories, as indicated by the continued stream of literature that Mahatma Gandhi called "gutter inspector reports."[5]

This set of pejorative generalizations were contributed primarily, although not exclusively, by Westerners. They had gained a certain repetitive quality during the British colonial period. For Americans, they were nurtured by early missionaries and carried by them back into the American domain,[6] were added to by the "old China hands" who, being displaced from China after the Second World War, found themselves unhappy with their new assignments in India, and ever since have been added to by the splenetic frustrations of individual sojourners at the bottom of their adjustment curves. This body of adages, answering needs for personal ego-gratification, is constantly being reinforced by isolated experiences of alienated foreigners which are taken to be sufficient samples on which to base colossal generalizations about India, and includes a repertory of presumably authentic stories which, after a while, everyone assimilates into his own experience and which are thought to demonstrate conclusively the truth of the hostile judgments of India.

At the same time, the individual develops a set of psychological devices for ensuring that cross-national comparisons between India and the United States will come out to the advantage of the latter. For one thing, India's practices as he sees them around him are compared with the United States' ideals. For instance, India's personalized machine-style politics is compared with our textbook democracy, instead of our big-city politics which it resembles. Second, American social and foreign-policy problems are seen as having a long, involved history, with many limitations upon the range of actions that American leaders can take to solve them, while India's social and foreign-policy problems are seen as being essentially moral issues without history and in which India has complete freedom to act if she so wished. And, third, experiences in India which reinforce the negative stereotypes are taken to be representative of general trends, and those things which controvert them are taken as exceptions.

Enclaving

I have described some of the process of sliding down the "J" curve as if it were inevitable, but fortunately many Americans never really let it bother them, and of those who do, few Americans get so fully buried in it that they do not begin to climb up the positive side of the "J" curve again. Also, fortunately, perhaps, few Indians encounter directly this carping cultural residue or the Americans caught in it, because one of its consequences is withdrawal from contact with all but each other and with a highly limited circle of Indians who are already specialists at dealing with foreigners, and many of whom share, on a third-person basis, some of the negative judgments about their own country. Other contacts are confined, if possible, to a set of servants and subordinates in the work situation who have found their own immunization against American sourness on things Indian, ways of circumventing its consequences, and petty revenges for it. The "burra sahib" is as much a captive of the surrounding servants and employees as they are his.

If a residential enclave is available, as in, say, New Delhi, and supplies can be bought from the commissary or PX, isolation can be almost complete, but even without it, a kind of psychological isolation can take place in which all relationships with members of the host country are as brief as possible and highly formalized. Indians sometimes complain that Americans whom they knew both professionally and socially in the United States resist efforts to establish a friendly social relationship when they meet again in India. These are the truly enclaved Americans. As an aside, it is interesting to note that in New Delhi there is status gulf among American children between those whose parents have access to the commissary, and thus can fill their leisure with American consumers' goods they were used to back home, and those who do not. But "station life" is much the same the world over.

Recovery

The Americans who somehow avoid the "J" curve, or who make successful recoveries, usually do very well in their relations with their hosts. In their work situations, they very soon discover that many Indians with whom they deal have a very accurate estimate of their career standing at home, and they learn to distinguish between the quasi-racial deference that they receive from lower- and lower-middle-class Indians and India's own elites. They learn the techniques of what the Useems call the "third culture," very often much better than their European counterparts, and develop a remarkable degree of personal involvement with India and things Indian.

They learn to make individual judgments and friendships, not categoric ones: not to speak of all Indians, but to discriminate between those they like and those they do not. The enclave, for them, becomes a repository of ways for coping with their environment, not retreating from it, and of contact with a wider and wider circle of Indians. If they are lucky, they learn to penetrate beyond the circles that surround the foreign community.

However, as Ruth Useem observes, it is not possible to predict accurately before they get to India who are the ones who will or will not make this successful transition.

THE AMERICAN VERSUS AN AMERICAN

Having successfully, it is hoped, piloted the first-tripper through the trough and on his way up the return slope of his "J" curve, let us turn to the second of the minor pathologies which I mentioned at the outset: that the treatment of the individual American and the welcome that he is given are often very different from the treatment of Americans as a category and the American presence in general, aside from its overseas residents. To some extent, the difference is merely a matter of a symbolic rhetoric surrounding the abstractions of "America" and "Americans," while dealing with individual Americans usually on a more personal level where norms of hospitality and traditional patterns of interacting with Westerners are invoked. But often the effects of the categoric sentiments toward Americans impinge more directly on the individual American, particularly when they involve him in the political process or when they result in one or another governmental regulation with respect to him,

I shall not discuss here the course of Indo-American relations and their effect on our national image in India. One result, however, is the occasional feeling on the part of the Indian government and Indian intellectuals that the Americans are the new Romans, that their influence is too strong in governmental affairs and intellectual life in India, and that their very numbers and concentration, particularly in New Delhi, are, in some vague sense, threatening. To illustrate this point, and the consequent gap between the reception of individual Americans and the collectivity, let me take some examples from the most numerous groups of Americans in India.

Missionaries

The group for whom this disparity is oldest and sharpest is the missionaries. In part, this is a circumstance of their own making. Typical early missionary attitudes were highly and outspokenly critical of the benighted heathens of India. Although Ceylon was the locale described in the phrase "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile," the same sentiments, with somewhat less emphasis on the pleasing "prospects," were applied to India. It was not just souls to be saved, but sinful practices in this world that were to be wiped out. At the same time that this arrogance was being visited upon the peoples of India, social services, particularly schools and hospitals, were being introduced and sponsored by the home churches. As Kenneth Scott Latourette observes,[7] there was within the missions a gradual shift from the former evangelical activities toward the social gospel. This shift, which predates Independence in India, was further heightened by the Indian government's refusal after 1947 to issue visas to pure evangelicals among American missionaries, insisting on their performing some educational, medical, or other social welfare function as a prerequisite to their admission or readmission to the country. Proselytizing was frowned upon.

In addition to what can, at best, be described as a lukewarm sentiment in the government for missionaries in general, their traditional identification with tribal peoples not yet fully assimilated into the national society brought them directly into the political arena, as in the case of the Reverend Michael Scott's acting as intermediary in negotiations with the Naga insurgents. Often antinational activities are more presumed than practiced, but sometimes they have been subject to political harassment, as in the case of the Missionary Investigating Commission in Madhya Pradesh. And militant Hindu groups occasionally campaign against missionaries' influence in India, as in the case of the threatened demonstrations against the visit of the Pope to Bombay in 1965.

While the collective image and treatment of the missionaries in India is less than enthusiastic, their schools and colleges remain, in many regions of India, the most prestigious institutions where the children of the Indian elite are educated. Their hospitals have nationwide reputations for excellence, and individual missionaries often have considerable status and influence in their local communities.

The missionaries, like other American groups, are faced with pressures to work toward their own obsolescence. Pressures for Indianization of their staff are felt both from their home offices, which wish to cut costs and to assure their operations' local institutionalization, and from the Indian government, which wishes to retain their social services and permit freedom of religious practices, but without foreign control. While the end product, the withering away of Americans, is agreed on by both sides, there is some disagreement as to the most desirable pace. On the American side is the fear that the thrust and nature of the mission will be diverted by too early a withdrawal of Americans, and on the Indian side there is the feeling that unless the Americans withdraw, the Indians will never be able to replace them effectively.

The Business Community

Another disagreement over the appropriate number of Americans manning the foreign enterprise at a given stage of its development is found in the case of businessmen and plant managers and technicians. Here, again, the eventual replacement of American personnel is agreed upon, and the pressures for Indianization are felt from both sides, while the judgment of the appropriate pace for replacement tends to differ when viewed from the United States and India. Businesses are subject to clear and explicit government rules which often are included in the original license to operate and which specify the rate and the level at which Indianization will proceed. However, in spite of these formal rules, the government, in individual cases, is considerably more ambivalent about forcing a reduction in the number of Americans than in the case of missionaries. The effective training of Indian counterparts and their gaining the full confidence of their superiors and subordinates, particularly in highly technical jobs, is too delicate an operation to fit abstract timetables.

The discomfort of both the government and the company in the dilemma between efficiency and social policy has often been seen. And when the choice gets caught up in the political rhetoric of private versus public enterprise and the presumed inherent malevolence of American business in general, the discomfort may be intense indeed. Again, compared with the missionaries the differences between the image of an individual American plant manager or technician and that of them as a collectivity are not quite so clear-cut. There seem to be two separate images, one admiring and one hostile, which refer alternately to individuals and to businessmen and technicians as a group, but the elements are sometimes confused and used at both levels. Nonetheless, in a discussion of an individual plant manager or technician, one usually hears of: his technical expertise; his willingness to work hard and at many jobs; his ability to exert leverage in high places to foreshorten normal waiting periods for permits, licenses, and customs clearance; his neutrality in the interplay of factionalisms and personal empires; his accessibility to employees; his incorruptibility; and his loyalty to the company and the quality of its product.

When it is not an American that is being discussed, but Americans, one hears of: the very high costs of bringing them to and maintaining them in India; the considerable increase in status which often accompanies the move; their higher degree of over-specialization and dependence on machines; their lack of awareness of and skills for handling Indian labor, markets, and governmental relations; their long incubation period after first arrival before they are useful and the long predeparture malaise; the great amount of time and attention spent on household and family matters; and their inexpertness in defining the boundaries between the social and work role.

As a consequence of the individual image, American businessmen and technicians often find themselves in a position to accomplish things which, aside from differences in technical skills, their Indian counterparts cannot. As a consequence of the collective image, they find their special perquisites, which were written into initial company and governmental contracts, begrudgingly given, bound by endless rules, and subject to petty subversion. They find the amount of envy and resentment, particularly of their highly conspicuous exalted living styles, very great. And they find themselves beating their wings against the bureaucratic net considerably more frequently than their counterparts in Indian concerns. In fact, the successful American businessman or plant officer learns to emphasize and trade upon the individual image in order to exempt himself from the consequences of the collective one.

A different but equivalent set of contrasts exists between the individual and collective view of American scholars in India. The past fifteen years has seen a tremendous flowering of American scholarship on India,[8] and through such programs as the Fulbright program, the Foreign Area Fellowship program, and the American Institute of

Indian Studies, substantial numbers of American professors and students have visited India for varying periods of time, and a somewhat smaller, but nonetheless substantial, number of Indians have spent some time professionally in the United States. It is fair to say, in fact, that there is a substantial transnational network of Indian and American scholars who genuinely share mutual respect and a considerable amount of collaboration in their work.

In part as a result of this flow, there are, in both countries, a rather limited series of people and institutions who form the equivalent of a list of "must" tourist spots—people who must be seen since they are reputed to be of unusual interest and distinction and because everyone else has seen them. Once an Indian, sometimes against his will, gets elevated to this list, he may find himself flooded with itinerant American scholars seeking a *darshana* visit. I know of one research institution which, jokingly, considered digging a moat around its walls and pulling up the drawbridge in December and January when the great flood of short-term junketeers coursed through the land, dropping calling cards and collecting notes for the definitive book. It has always seemed to me that Indians treat individuals in this stream with considerable kindness and welcome, although one could cite cases of unrelieved vituperation heaped upon a helpless American scholar.

However, even in this domain, the distinction between treatment of individual American scholars and American scholars as a collectivity appears. Some years ago, for instance, the Indian government became very sensitive to the practice of American universities interested in carrying on research in India who, as the Indians saw it, bought the time of many of their most talented people for projects that were, at best, low in their schedule of priorities. Moreover, the scholarly results were often published in the United States and never seen in India. It seemed to the Indians a kind of internal brain drain matching the drawing off of substantial numbers of their most promising young scholars through scholarships at American colleges and universities, from which they did not return. As a result, a loosely enforced general prohibition was adopted by which Indian professors and institutions were instructed not to deal directly with American organizations, but to go through the Indian government first. The recent University of Delhi professors' reaction to and the subsequent parliamentary debate on the proposed use of PL-480 rupees to establish a foundation to support projects in India is part of the same phenomenon. With the continuing exception of the Fulbright program, American scholars interested in carrying out research in India must have their topics approved by three separate ministries of the Indian government, and are always subject to the uncertainties of the question period in parliament.

AMERICA VERSUS AMERICANS

The nature of an American's stay in India and his status there are, of course, not solely a product of his own behavior and his ability to adjust. He is only a part of an "American presence" that, in addition to the formal diplomatic representation of his country, includes: material goods; American cultural imports, particularly the popular arts; and a confused symbolic foreign-policy image drawn from the Cold War, American economic assistance to India, arms aid to Pakistan, folklore about our motives and actions in Kashmir, and other flotsam from the stream of international relations.

All of these can and do affect the climate of receptivity in which he must interact. They also have a great deal to do with the gap between the degree of warmth accorded to the individual American and the collective Americans. I shall leave aside the formal diplomatic representation, which is discussed by Glen Fisher,[9] and the foreign-policy issues. I want to mention only two aspects of the American presence which illustrate dramatically the ambivalence between receptivity to and anxiety about and desire to control the extent of the American influx.

American Merchandise

Ever since the rapid depletion of India's sterling balances after World War II, foreign-exchange shortages have necessitated tighter and tighter restrictions on the import of American-made goods. It is difficult to say what the policy would be if foreign exchange were abundant, but it seems likely that even then there would be an attempt to limit the flow of American goods, if only to allow a sheltered haven for the growth of India's own industry.

One consequence, of course, of the great limitation on the import of Western-made goods has been to increase sharply the demand for them in those middle- and upper-class circles that had previously consumed them. It should be added that there is a corollary, in part earned, reputation for inferior quality of indigenous products. In the quasi-monopoly, high-demand market in which local producers operate, this is, perhaps, inevitable. But, even aside from differences in quality, the high demand for Western, particularly American, consumers' goods reflects the fact that they have become a status symbol. An American car has become a necessity for the *nouveaux riches*, particularly the "movie crowd," so much so that the Indian government, which has the right to acquire them after they are imported, makes a huge profit by auctioning them off to wealthy Indians. Any consumer durables, such as refrigerators, stoves, and electric appliances, find a ready, high-priced second-hand market, and Americans often find their homes in India inspected, and imported articles bid for, shortly after their arrival. The pattern has become so well established that the wealthy clientele for American-produced goods knows fairly well the merits and relative prices of different brands of merchandise. There are, in fact, brokers who have contracts both with Americans and with wealthy Indians. These brokers are especially useful when local markets become temporarily glutted and goods have to be transported to the seemingly inexhaustible demand of the commercial elites in Bombay or Calcutta and, to a lesser extent, New Delhi. This demand for American consumers' goods reinforces what I referred to earlier as the American's cornucopia role, with its consequent feeling of being used, of his friendship being cultivated not for its own sake, but for other reasons. At the same time, particularly if he is an "enclaved American," he tends to assume personal responsibility for the superiority of American merchandise, as if he had made it himself and therefore he feels that he is owed some deference because of it.

The Popular Arts

Aside from consumers' goods, there is a whole stream of what Noel Coward called "the mucker culture," that of the popular arts, which was originally Western, particularly American, in origin, although it now has mostly indigenous practitioners. I refer to the movies, particularly the song-and-sex Hollywood "B's"; popular music, currently rock-and-roll; lurid-covered paperbacks; teenage styles—still largely at the pre-Beatle, Marlon Brando–James Dean stage; and the ubiquitous, top-volume transistor radio.

This cultural diffusion is one of the most remarkable, and possibly most important, taking place in the world today. As it has become domesticated it is bumping down the urban ladder into the smallest towns and may eventually do a great deal to promote a new kind of national unity, even though its content may make the cultural elites unhappy. Like other American consumers' goods, to some extent the limitations of foreign exchange control the amount of the flow of the artifacts of these popular arts. Heavy taxes on film footage, restrictions on repatriation of profits, and occasional threats of total embargo reduce the flow of American movies. The flow of American phonograph records, those revolving repositories of ephemeral tastes, has been slowed to a trickle. The fan magazines that constantly breathe life into the current idols are, by necessity, largely domestic.

But even aside from the effects of import control, there is a general uneasiness about and wish to control the extent of the flow of the popular culture.[10] It derives in part from the cultural elite's age-old contempt for what they consider vulgar tastes, and the separation between elites and popular culture has, for centuries, been particularly sharp in India. But it also reflects an anxiety about cultural mongrelization by America—what in Europe is called Cocacolonization. And while, as I indicated, the popular arts now have a large indigenous component, they are identified with the United States in that they are thought to represent the predominant art forms of the United States without the cleansing touch of a great elitist culture such as India has or, for that matter, Britain. It is somewhat ironic that the American adults who come to India are perhaps those least likely to have been caught up in this popular culture at home, but the identification is theirs, nonetheless. Perhaps this is only fair. Their counterparts among the Indians visiting the United States get saddled with sadhus, maharajas, rope tricks, and beds of nails.

CONCLUSION

In short, then, the experiences of Americans in India are subject to processes and determined by factors that lie only partly within their personal control. The individual's reactions to them depend upon his ability to soften or avoid a set of processes which, unless counteracted, tend to make Americans pass through an alienation cycle. Fortunately, more and more Americans seem to be gaining more and more skills in what the Useems call the "third culture," so that difficulties in personal adjustment can be minimized, and all curves become relatively straight lines.

The larger aspects of the "American presence" lie beyond the individual's control. It is entirely possible that these more apprehensive sentiments about Americans and America in general that have little to do with the characteristics of American residents in India will increasingly dominate and perhaps confine the Americans' stay in India. At present, it seems unlikely that the process will go as far as it did in, say, China, but it would not be surprising if the collective, as against the individual, reception of Americans became more and more important.

NOTES

1. Ruth Hill Useem, "The American Family in India," and John Useem, "Work Patterns of Americans in India," in *Americans Abroad*, ed. Richard D. Lambert, vol. 368 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1966), pp. 132–45 and 146–56.

2. See Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, *Indian Students on an American Campus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956).

3. Nirad Chaudhuri, *The Continent of Circe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

4. For a list of some of these statements in another context, see Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, "The Sensitive-Area Complex," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 6 (May 1955), pp. 583–592.

5. The classic American version of this literature is Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927), but numerous others have appeared.

6. See Harold Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds* (New York: John Day, 1958).

7. Kenneth Scott Latourette, "Missionaries Abroad," in *Americans Abroad*, pp. 21–30.

8. W. Norman Brown, "South Asian Studies: A History," *The Annals*, Vol. 356 (November 1964), pp. 54–62.

9. Glen H. Fisher, "The Foreign Service Officer," in *Americans Abroad*, pp. 71–82.

10. For an Indian view of the problem by the previous director of All-India Radio, see J. C. Mathur, *Oil for Aladdin's Lamp* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1965).

27

An American Education for Students from India

In recent years there has been an enormous expansion of international programs for the exchange of students.* Annually for the past ten years there have been over thirty thousand foreign visitors studying in various institutions of higher learning in the United States. Foreign exchange programs have customarily been encouraged by governments for two primary purposes—to benefit the individuals directly involved and to aid underdeveloped countries by providing them with technically trained workers. A further underlying assumption is that a stay in the United States would promote the visitor's international understanding.

This paper deals with the educational experiences of nineteen Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania.[1] Of the nineteen students, sixteen were Indian, two Pakistani, and one Singhalese. Since all crucial factors capable of influencing their behavior are roughly comparable, for purposes of convenience they are all referred to as Indians throughout this paper. The primary source of data was materials collected and analyzed on the basis of approximately 175 hours of semi-structured individual and group interviewing, and the responses to various written instruments submitted to students and faculty. The findings are suggestive rather than conclusive, because of the small number of students and the heavy reliance on non-objective data.

Several paragraphs are devoted to outlining the contrasting features of the Indian educational system and to the status of the "foreign returned" student. These will provide a context for comprehending the Indian student's perception of the educational system in the United States, and will give clues for understanding the factors which influence his determination to succeed in the American university.

At the lower levels, methods of schooling in India vary from the village school, with children of all ages grouped in a single class, to well-organized "public schools" in the British tradition. Because of the abundance of educated unemployed and the low salaries paid to teachers, tutors also have a prominent part in the educational scheme. The diversity of the system of primary education requires that entrance into higher levels of training depend upon a series of demonstrations of competency rather than upon the acquisition of course credits.

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* Written jointly with Marvin Bressler. Reprinted from *Journal of Higher Education* 26 (March 1955): 125–34.

Although some preference is shown to students who attend certain prestige schools, the most important prerequisite for admission to college is the matriculation examination, which stresses content and not aptitude. At the conclusion of the second year in college the student takes the comprehensive intermediate examination, and subsequently the examination for the B.A. or B.Sc. The successful completion of these periodic tests qualifies him to advance in the educational hierarchy. The tests are set by professors at the principal universities, and are administered by thirty or forty institutions of higher learning. The main effect of these procedures is to penalize the student who attends the lesser college, since his academic performance is not judged by mastery of specific courses or by his rank order as compared to students in individual classes or schools, but rather on the basis of his ranking in competitive examinations with thousands of others. An incidental effect on the culture of the university is that pressure to attend class is comparatively slight, especially when most of the professor's lectures have been accurately recorded by previous students and are available in mimeographed form at near-by bookstores.

In the Indian educational structure, then, the student moves through a series of clearly defined stages, each marked by the acquisition of a ranking and the name of the examination or "paper" he has passed. An application for employment submitted by a person who has passed through the Indian educational system will characteristically include a statement of the highest "paper" that he has taken and may sometimes include those which he has failed. Thus, in India, intermediate accomplishments prior to the attainment of the B.A. are respectable achievements attested to by recording the results of the matriculation or intermediate examination. In the United States there is nothing quite comparable to these fine gradations of recorded scholarly attainment. Course marks, which to some extent do perform this function, are little understood by Indian school administrators or by the public, and add little to a student's prestige. This situation contributes to the striving for degrees among Indian students in the United States no matter how brief the sojourn, and to the quest of subsidiary academic honors such as scholarships, assistantships, and strong letters of recommendation.

During the nineteenth century, those aspiring for the few high posts in government open to Indians embarked for Oxford or Cambridge to prepare themselves for the difficult Indian Civil Service examinations. Ambitious barristers sought admission to the Inner Temple or some other of London's select law confraternities; many of these barristers formed the core of leadership dominating India's political movements. The sons of the wealthy, the landed aristocracy, and the princes were sent abroad to acquire an Oxon or Cantab and polish in Western manners and speech. Many among the most conspicuously successful in India's rising middle class had studied abroad, which almost always meant England, and were members of a category broadly called "foreign returned." Even at the lower levels in the social system, this identification ensured a competitive advantage in employment opportunities and frequently greater social prestige as measured by that most delicate of all indexes, higher dowries. Moreover, within India, since the time of Macaulay's blunt boast that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia," the indigenous educational system was oriented to that of the English public school and the major British universities. India's current educational system above the primary level remains a close variant on the British model. A system so consciously derivative inevitably rewards those who have undergone the "real thing." This prestige was bolstered by the initial selection of individuals in the "foreign returned" category. Frequently they belonged to the aristocracy of wealth or caste whose status was secure in any event, or to the brilliant and successful who were using education as a vehicle of upward social mobility.

With the passage of time a foreign education became a mixed blessing. As the number of "foreign returned" increased, selection became less rigorous and a foreign education ceased to be a certain path to success. The numbers of the educated unemployed swelled as the governmental, legal, and other professional posts failed to expand sufficiently to absorb all those educated in the Western tradition. Concomitantly, the nationalist movement set in motion countercurrents restoring the prestige of Indian culture and stigmatizing those who remained in too close association with the British rulers. Western and Indian scholars, studying India's past traditions, language, and philosophy, gave the lie to Macaulay's judgment and reinstated Indian learning in the schools. This trend is increasingly evident today in the attempts to displace English by the vernaculars and Hindi as the medium of instruction, in the insistence that the government support the homeopathic Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine in the medical schools in addition to the Western allopathic, and in the use of Sanskrit to complement the national language in dealing with modern terms.

The convergence of nationalistic and economic factors has considerably lessened the value of the Western degree in India. This is especially true for those who have studied in American graduate schools of business, because at home other factors such as family connection and prior experience are usually more relevant to commercial success than academic prowess. Although education in an American graduate school of arts and sciences is a considerable asset in obtaining government or teaching employment, the continuously increasing number of applicants to meet an inelastic demand serves to raise the requirements for employment and to reduce the likelihood of any single individual's success. In view of all these circumstances, it is obvious that educational training in America is not always a guaranty of success.

As one aspect of the present investigation, questionnaires were sent to each student's instructors asking them to comment on selected aspects of his educational experiences—the classroom situation, informal interactive behavior, formal adherence to academic rules, and general academic competency. From the thirty questionnaires that were returned, it is possible to construct a composite profile of the Indian student reacting to the class situation.

Characteristically, the Indian student found among his classmates several other foreign students, but these seldom included fellow nationals. As a result, he was simultaneously denied both the considerable gratification which often accrues to the unique individual who exploits his novelty, and the sense of psychological security which comes from being among one's own countrymen. The students seemed to have made a satisfactory adjustment in their relationships with both fellow students and faculty. The

Indian students, according to their professors, usually mingled with American students before or after class; professorial replies also indicate that, within the confines of the impersonal atmosphere of a large metropolitan university, there were an astonishingly large number of personal contacts between the Indian student and his professors.

On the more formal levels of classroom behavior, the Indian students apparently acquitted themselves well. The professors reported that on the whole the students "cut" seldom and were punctual most of the time. They participated in discussions "about as much as other students" and were commendably pliable in these discussions as evidenced by a willingness to "accept others' interpretations or to modify their own viewpoints." Moreover, the Indian students made no particular attempt to saturate the discussion with irrelevant references to India and Pakistan.

The responses to the item "What would you say was his general attitude toward the course and his studies?" were almost unanimously favorable to the students. Although there is some variation in professorial enthusiasm, such descriptive phrases as "excellent," "industrious," "attentive and genuinely interested" are representative, while derogatory comment of any sort was applied to only two students.

Faculty appraisal of the Indian students' academic achievement, although generally favorable, was not quite so complimentary as their estimate of the students' attitudes. Typically, the rating "average" was assigned to students for such items as "logic," "clarity of presentation," "marks," and "percentile rank." This finding is somewhat surprising in view of the selectivity of the group and the excellence of the students' classroom deportment, but there can be little doubt that such cultural factors as linguistic difficulty and lack of familiarity with instructional procedures in some cases acted as limiting influences.

The marks received by the students need further analysis, since they remain the most dependable measure of academic achievement. There is some hazard in interpreting the significance of an assigned mark because of the possibility that there may be some disposition on the part of the teachers to extend differential treatment to foreign students. From informal conversations with a number of professors, we gained the distinct impression that although their reactions and behavior varied considerably, they marked the foreign students somewhat more leniently than the American students.

Professors often make exceptions for poor students, half-hoping that an accumulation of these intermediate crises will painlessly remove the student from the scene. The same process goes on with the foreign students, but since their term is so definite and unequivocal, and since their primary purpose for being in the United States is academic, the foreign students do not obligingly fade away. It is primarily in this sense that special considerations are frequently given them. Another factor of some importance contributing to lenient treatment is that a vague and generalized desire to promote international amity can induce a certain self-consciousness in dealing with foreign students. As a consequence, so long as the Indian students refrained from seriously violating the conventional academic taboos, the professors were disposed to be especially helpful.

Even with these limitations on confident interpretation in mind, certain revealing insights emerged from an analysis of all available marks of fourteen Indian graduate students, eight of whom attended the Graduate Division of the Wharton School of Science and Business Administration and six of whom attended the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. The major conclusions may be summarized as follows:

First, in comparing academic achievement in 1952–53 and previous semesters, it is noteworthy that the quality of academic work as measured by marks remains relatively stable for students attending both schools. These facts suggest that increasing familiarity with the American academic process does not improve marks within the time limit of the average student's stay in the United States, or, for that matter, within the time limits imposed by university regulations for completion of course work for higher degrees.

Second, the performance of graduate students in the School of Arts and Sciences was superior to that of Wharton students when judged by median mark, comparative number of failing marks, and number of degrees earned. It is difficult to account for these findings, especially since neither measures of native capacity of the students nor objective data on the relative difficulty of the schools was available to us. Our own impression is that differentials among the students attending these two schools cannot be accounted for by either of these factors. One explanation seems to be that, in the curriculum of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, there was a continuity of substantive and methodological emphasis, comparable to courses offered in India, while Wharton students were confronted by a relatively unfamiliar emphasis on quantitative procedures and empirical analysis. It may also be that a more rigorous set of end-means relationships are operative for arts-and-science students than for business students. For the former, mastery of course content is an indispensable prerequisite for subsequent careers in teaching or in government. On the other hand, there may well be a host of factors quite irrelevant to classroom performance that promote success in business, management, or other fields of applied economics. Since many of the Indian students attending the Wharton School were actually financially secure and had assured employment in their home country, it is understandable that mere earning of good marks must sometimes have struck them as unworthy of serious effort.

The interview data are consistent in their revelation of a rational, calculated pattern of study; the students are uniformly eager to make the most of their opportunities in the United States. The common patterns that emerge from their accounts of their scholarly activity indicate such a high degree of dedication and so much assiduous application that it would seem almost appropriate to refer to the "protestant ethic" with respect to these representatives of Hindu, Muslim, and Buddhist cultures, were it not for the fact that they are likewise engaged in pursuing the ideal of the "whole man," an aspiration which requires some attention to the achievement of versatility, recreation, and leisure. All of these themes are illustrated in telescoped excerpts of the account of a day by one of our more able subjects:

> My schedule is very much like this: I get up at seven. . . . I take a little exercise. I put the radio on after exercise. Just for five or ten minutes I lie down. Completely relax. We call it recreation pose. And I listen to the radio at that time [7:30 news]. Just have my breakfast. All this take me two hours, which I think would be considered very uneconomic by the standards here.

> The Abbott's dairyman supplies me with a quart of milk. Some Wheaties, about an ounce, and two oranges—this is my breakfast. It costs me only 25 cents. And then from nine to twelve I am probably in the library, the main library, except on Saturday when I have got classes. Sometimes I try to stretch it up to one even but it is not always possible. Sometimes I get hungry, sometimes I am anxious for my mail—letters from home or some such thing happens. I break at twelve. Then I have my lunch. Nowadays I am having it invariably at Horn and Hardart because I don't think cooking is very economical for a single person. Again then I am free from meals. After mealtime I come to South Asia [Department], read the summary of the news in the New York *Times* and any Indian papers there. Then about 2:00 or 2:30 I again go to the library. If I have classes, I hardly get one hour or half-hour; if I don't have classes I continue until six. At six I go home again . . . and then go straight to International House for one hour. I will try to get into the ping-pong room as soon as possible and play for half an hour and finish. Sometimes the space is occupied and we have to wait and watch the TV. I am not interested in TV as such, but just a sort of waiting period. And I come back about 7:30 and go to Horn and Hardart and eat (I generally try to take my meals with somebody, either M —— or Dr. ——) and then I will just chat for a while and start to study again at 8:30 or 9:00 and continue until 11:00. . . .
>
> I take the book that is assigned and before I begin the assignment I familiarize myself with the book, going through the preface and if there is something about the author and all that and it takes me about thirty minutes or so, but I doubt whether it is useful at all. Then I start with the assignment and go through it. My speed isn't very [rapid]—ten pages in one hour. I cannot read more than ten pages. Sometimes there are mathematical formulae, very small, maybe even four pages, five pages. Then, having read it I generally leave it, and on the second sitting I come and take down the notes on the typewriter. At the time of the reading I just put a small red dot in the margins of the significant sentence. Then I note it down so at the second time it gives me the chance of reviewing the assignment. Then I never touch the book again, then I depend upon my notes that I have taken, and, if I am not lagging behind, I get a chance to read them once or twice before the examination and retain them as much as possible in my mind. . . .
>
> I generally sleep at eleven, so that I get eight hours of study and eight hours of sleep, eight hours fun every day.

Few of the students reach this level of ascetic dedication to education, but it is an admired culture pattern, and one to which the Indian student turns in academic crises. There is not the stigma attached to constant application to studies such as might be found among American students where the label of "grind" involves a sort of excommunication from social intercourse. More of the Indian students come close to this ideal type than would be found among any sampling of American graduate students. The rigid routine is, of course, one type of withdrawal whereby adjustment difficulties are lost in a formalized structure.

The appraisal of American education by the Indian students is marked by one apparently widely held international stereotype of the nature of America's contribution to world culture. According to this view national intellectual talents are distributed dichotomously so that any single country is likely to excel either in "theory" or in "application," but not in both. The United States presumably falls in the latter category: as a people, Americans are supposedly more gifted as skilful technicians and as adroit improvisers and organizers than they are as original and basic thinkers. The industrial plant is allegedly more congenial to our landscape than the Gothic ivy tower, and the assembly line rather than man thinking is represented as the formidable symbol of our ingenuity.

This view is firmly held by the majority of the Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania, and, as part of the larger institutional structure, the American university is said to reflect the same national virtues and deficiencies. Consequently, those students who came to the United States to study in one of the applied fields are pleased to be studying at an American university and are satisfied that they are the beneficiaries of the best available instruction, while others who were interested in pursuing work in the arts and in the social sciences would have preferred to attend British educational institutions whose special genius is said to be the inculcation of more catholic humanistic qualities.

This perspective is apparently nourished by a desire to avoid direct comparisons of excellence between American and Indian institutions of higher learning. If, as is asserted, Indian universities are in the British tradition of broad liberal-arts training while American universities emphasize more prosaic techniques and skills, it follows that no common measure can reasonably be applied to both. Furthermore, American achievements can then be directly traced to the fortuitous circumstances of technology and wealth, which are necessary for certain advanced techniques of instruction, especially in such fields as medicine.

In view of the belief that all that separates Indian and American education is the capricious circumstance of superior wealth, Indian students are sometimes understandably disturbed by what they consider to be the unwarranted arrogance and intellectual provincialism of certain representatives of the American educational system. On the purely administrative level, their protest is directed against discriminatory practices in the extension of credits for work done in their home country. Even when the student maintains no specific grievance against the formal administrative mechanism, however, he is likely to deplore the customarily "narrow" Western orientation which distinguishes course content. The American professors are not particularly conversant with the history, science, or art of Asia in general, or of India specifically. The Indian student is provoked by the fact that the spirit which informs the classroom does not seem to be the world view, that unless the course was advertised with an Asian label, it could be anticipated that its substantive emphasis and its illustrative referents would be exclusively occidental. From the standpoint of the Indian student the failure of American professors to indicate that they are aware of the rudiments of Indian culture, history, and contemporary problems is an affront.

The existence of unfavorable administrative and intellectual factors could hardly be expected on an *a priori* basis to produce an extravagantly favorable attitude toward the American educational system. Surprisingly enough, the Indian students are, nevertheless, quite prepared to concede that on the whole American education is satisfactory or on a par with the Indian in substantive content and depth, and superior in certain phases of instructional technique and general pedagogical method.

The students were unanimous in their appreciation of a type of classroom atmosphere and instructional technique which might best be termed mildly "progressive."

The elective and credit system, the practice of interrupting lectures to ask questions, the encouragement of discussion, and the self-conscious benign democracy of the professor were apparently novel experiences for most of the students despite the fact that a quarter of a century of dispute in the United States has finally robbed these particular practices of controversy and their *avant garde* character.

Freedom in the classroom is prized by them not so much because it is an effective aid to learning but rather because it is symptomatic of "social democracy." The single fact which seems to have impressed the Indians most is the American practice of "working yourself through college." This demonstration of the flexibility of the social system appeared to them to represent one of the truly admirable features of American life.

In contrast to their appreciation of the "freedom" which characterized classroom procedures, most of the students were unfavorably impressed with "a corresponding restriction of freedom" in discussing some areas, especially in the field of the social sciences. Almost without exception, the Indian students believed that an atmosphere of fear and an excessive fright of Communism distinguished the American classroom. The following quotation is representative of frequently expressed sentiments:

> As I have already told you, this freedom has been greatly limited in the recent months I think. Even the professors in the class . . . whenever they talk something they are always conscious of the fact that some committee is going to investigate or some committee is going to inquire. So they may be in difficulty. All the time they are conscious of the fact. . . . The *Communist Manifesto* is in our course. It is recorded as an historical document, and, if you read the history of economics, you have to read the *Communist Manifesto;* we have to read Marx. It is not that we agree with him. . . . We do not agree with many people, and still we read them just to know what are their views. But whenever the professor gives the *Communist Manifesto,* all the time he emphasizes in class that "I do not agree with the *Communist Manifesto.* I have kept it here for the sake of study." All the time they are very conscious that there may be some difficulty. And whenever anybody is criticizing the policy, the foreign policy, or Communists, or doing something, or when we discuss the policy they say, "Do not misunderstand me, I am not in favor of Communism, but I want to say this and this." Well, that means that I am all the time conscious that they are conscious of the fact of McCarthy, or being investigated, or something of that sort. So to that extent freedom has been limited.

It should be pointed out parenthetically that those qualities which the Indian student admires most are likely to be found in greater abundance in small liberal-arts colleges than in large universities with graduate centers. In almost all cases, the students were pleased with their orientation programs at institutions in which the faculty was more "liberal," "international-minded," "informal"; in which the curriculum provided for supplementing classroom instruction "by experiences in the real world"; and in which the citizens of the community were "genuinely interested" in foreign students. This situation poses a dilemma of a sort. If one of the major objectives of the United States in fostering the exchange program is the creation of good will, then it would seem that the Indian students should be sent to the smaller "liberal" schools. On the other hand, the adoption of this procedure would conflict with the needs of many advanced students who can obtain the training which they desire only at one of the major universities.

Nineteen Indian students at the University of Pennsylvania were studied intensively in order to gain insight into their experiences and their attitudes toward the American educational system. Both perception and motivation were influenced by comparisons with the Indian educational system and by their assessment of the effect of an American degree upon their status in the home country. According to evaluation data compiled by their professors, the students behaved in an exemplary fashion in the classroom, but their academic performance was no more than "average." In general, the students pursuing courses in the College of Arts and Science were superior in academic achievement to those attending the School of Business and Finance. The best explanation for this phenomenon is probably that Indian students excel in classroom work when there are continuities in methodological and substantive emphasis between past and present training and when academic success in America is related to future status enhancement.

Although the Indian students bore resentments against the imputation of inferiority to their home country as evidenced by "discriminatory" practices in granting equal credits for work done in India, and the absence of relevant references to India in the classroom, they were generally appreciative of the American educational system. The feature which they admired most in American education was the presence of "democracy in the method of instruction"; the feature which they condemned the most was the "climate of fear" induced by congressional investigating committees.

NOTE

1. This project, sponsored and financed by the Cross-Cultural Education Committee of the Social Science Research Council, was part of a larger investigation, which comprised studies of Mexican, Japanese, and Scandinavian students at the University of California, Ohio State University, and the University of Wisconsin, respectively.

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Indian Students and the United States: Cross-Cultural Images

The emergence of India as a major world power, sympathetic but uncommitted to the West, has created a measure of self-conscious curiosity, sometimes anxiety, in many Americans concerning the reactions of Indian leadership and public opinion to the United States.* It is inevitable that the image of the United States conveyed to the Indian public should be somewhat selective and distorted, inasmuch as the Indian media of mass communication concern themselves largely with American foreign policy and neglect broader sociocultural aspects of the American scene. Such information on the United States as is exported characteristically fails to provide a substantial corrective—neither the superficial frivolities emanating from Hollywood nor the excessively grim realities of the protest novel are capable of transmitting a representative picture of the United States.

The nature of this picture formed at a distance is illustrated by the preconceptions entertained by Indian students upon arrival in the United States—a stereotypical, indistinct, and limited image composed of uncorrelated fragments. They had anticipated that the United States would be a land endowed with abundant natural resources and wealth, whose inhabitants worked feverishly and constantly to command a whole host of mechanized wonders, whose cities were dominated by skyscrapers, whose ethos was scientific and rationalistic to the neglect of the spiritual, whose social relations were marked by casualness, rudeness, and violence, frequently institutionalized in the person of the gangster, whose social system was equalitarian except for discriminatory practices directed against colored peoples; and whose labor force contained a disproportionate number of cowboys. The students were aware that some of these images were oversimplified, bordering on caricature, but in essence these grotesqueries constituted almost the whole of their expectations.

One expression of official concern with this naïve and unflattering stereotype takes the form of encouraging Indian students to attend American institutions of higher learning with the expectation that these foreign visitors, having observed the "American way of life," will return to their home country prepared to convey a more favorable image of the United States. The exchange-of-persons program reflects a basic confidence in the capacity of American institutions to arouse admiration: there seems to be some assumption that the sustained and intimate scrutiny implied in the process of guided culture contact will foster accurate perceptions which confirm the excellence of American institutions and thereby create the basis for favorable attitudes to the United States.

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* Written jointly with Marvin Bressler. Reprinted from *America through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Richard D. Lambert, vol. 295 of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (September 1954), pp. 62–72.

The actual mechanism of image formation and the development of favorable attitudes toward the United States appear to be considerably more complex. It is quite obvious that at the very minimum the student's personality, life history, preconceptions, experiences en route and in the United States, and anticipation of return all contribute to the content of his perceptions and to a generally favorable or unfavorable appraisal of the United States. However, our data indicate that the primary determinant of image formation involves a process by which American institutional areas are perceived and interpreted in the context of their relevance to Indian culture, history, and aspirations. This mechanism of cultural reference is operative among all students and is applicable to all institutional areas over all points of time, whether or not images of American life are derived from the media of mass communication or from direct observation. Other personality and behavior dimensions not specific to the Indian culture usually assumed their chief significance as superimpositions on this basic process. The emphasis of this article, therefore, is upon cross-cultural links; how the "Indianness" of the student affects his image of the United States.

We have chosen three important areas of American life[1] illustrating three different types of cultural reference which the Indian student brings to bear on his American experiences: family practices, political behavior, and race relations.

The Indian student's perception of American family practices indicates the operation of two basically antithetical frames of reference among Indian intellectuals: the traditional family of India's ideal culture and the Western liberal-humanitarian ethic with its strong emphasis on the emancipation of women and suppression of status inequalities. Political behavior is perceived and measured by the extent to which a given political philosophy implicitly suggests sympathetic kinship to doctrines justifying India's struggle for freedom and her current political policy. The perception of American race relations not only occurs within a context of historically rooted racial grievances, but also includes strong individual involvement arising out of fear of personal discrimination and status deprivation. This image is accordingly much more complex, personality oriented, and subject to gross distortions of perceptions.

It should be emphasized that an overall orientation to a foreign culture is more than a simple summation of discrete images. The concluding section will be devoted to a brief discussion of an additional set of processes resulting from the student's confrontation with Americans' image of India, and the way in which these processes influence his over-all assessment of America.

THE FAMILY

The comments of the Indian student about the American family system tended to cluster around three areas: (1) the family's restricted function and interaction; (2) the role and status of its various members; and (3) family emphasis upon the gratification of personality needs rather than societal ends, with a resulting general orientation of capriciousness and frivolity in family institutional practices.

Restricted Function and Interaction

The Indian joint family is a unit comprising several degrees of kinship and several generations organized communally and usually living in the same household. It is an economic unit, a graduated status system with clearly defined roles, a vehicle for ritual and the observance of religious practices, a common commensal unit, a dormitory arrangement, and a sphere of relationships within which primary psychological needs are met.

Family roles are hierarchically stable, clearly defined, and reciprocal duties and obligations take precedence over individual motives. The effect of any act on other members of the family may be anticipated and therefore conflicts can be kept to a minimum. To be sure, intrafamily clashes do occur, but many of these are institutionalized, culturally acceptable, and thus do not constitute a serious disruptive force. For instance, quarrels between the sisters-in-law and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a culturally required part of joint family living, even though the outcome is predictable and the victors never vary. These and other sporadic conflicts can be resolved by a final arbiter, the patriarchal figure. The individual spends his life in some joint family. If for any reason a joint family splinters, it breaks into segments but seldom involves the departure of isolated individuals. The occasional mobile member, not essential to the family welfare at the moment, can leave to pursue his own ends, but the price of his freedom is a willingness to return in the event of family need.

The joint family so described was widely admired among the Indian students for ensuring stability and performing most of the functions necessary to individual members, and for providing a satisfactory, conflict-free psychological setting. The admiration persisted in spite of the fact that none of the students identified his own family as fulfilling all the requirements of the ideal type.

In contrast to the satisfying and benevolent despotism of the joint family, the Indian students perceived in America a loosely knit structure providing for limited interactions and restricted functions. The simple quantitative fact of a three-, four-, or five-person household limited to two generations provides striking contrast to the emphasis on the intimate relationships among the members of the joint family. While several commented that the complexity inherent in large numbers is reduced in the American small family, the net effect is diminution of the responsibility, warmth, and serenity associated with the orderly relationship of the extended group. From the standpoint of the Indian student, there is ample evidence of the lesser importance of the home in American life. For example, lack of elaborate family ritual at meal time, restrained rather than demonstrative greetings at family reunions, the brittle casualness of the chic middle-class mother in dealing with her children, ready divorce, serial monogamy, and the increasing vogue of the psychiatric couch and the marriage clinic.

Role and Status

The Indian student is not likely to become sufficiently intimate with any one American family to observe the subtle interplay of "real" family relationships. Few American families can resist the temptation to display the "typical American family at home," a dramatization which frequently results in an exaggerated caricature of the official norms. Consequently, the perceptions of Indian students tend to be influenced by consistently overplayed family roles. The specific roles which impress themselves most upon Indian students are the role of women and the role of the aged—those most markedly different from the Indian pattern. The traditional literature, current folklore, songs, and moving pictures depict a vast number of heroines who embody an ideal role for women which is widely accepted by all segments of Indian society. She is to be docile, patient, submissive, a paragon of housewifely virtues, but at the same time full of charm, a companion, and wise in the ways of beauty. Above all, she should be modest and show continued awareness of the double standard by observing rituals of inferior status, and by exhibiting proper embarrassment and constraint in interactions with men. While in actual practice, of course, woman's role is considerably more complex and ambivalent, nevertheless this ideal image served as one standard by which all women, and consequently American women, could be judged.

In addition, the Western liberal-humanitarian system of values which is opposed to all immutable status distinctions, including those pertaining to women, has been internalized to a varying extent by all of the Indian students. In general the inferior role assigned to women jars against the Western ideals of equality of individuals and greater emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed status. Indians apply the emancipation ethics fully to certain isolated women—brilliant women in the professions, arts, and politics—and favor such lesser commitments to emancipation as disapproval of "cruelties to women" such as suttee, prohibition of remarriage, and complete dependence upon males.

In view of these contradictory philosophies—the Indian ideal woman and the Western emancipation ethic—the student sometimes finds himself in favor of the role-status structure of the American family when he perceives it in equalitarian terms, but opposed to the same characteristics when he views them in the context of the ideal role assigned to Indian women. However, American family life is presumably characterized by so much of this allegiance to the humanitarian individualistic ethic that it excludes cherished values still present in the Indian social framework and still held by our subjects. It would be possible to marshal an impressive array of quotations to illustrate this feeling among the students, but the following passage will suffice to show the attempt to reconcile the contradictory philosophies.

> I might say something regarding the social life of the people, absolute equality among the two sexes and how the women also help the family by supplementing the income, how these ladies are also educated, they can talk on public affairs. . . .
>
> I mean it has its advantages to some extent, I thought, that the woman is independent and she can look after herself. If she has some work or something important and if the husband is not at home or nobody is at home, she could do it

> herself. Now in our society she wouldn't know what to do because she wouldn't have been taught.
>
> I should say the freedom you allow your women, I was very much struck by it. I should say that in my experience it is more than what the woman deserves. Women we consider to be something delicate and feminine. She must distinguish herself in dress, manners, and everything, which is not the case here. She wears blue jeans and walks like a tractor truck. In that case I can't appreciate the femininity of women.

Old People

There were considerably fewer data indicating contradictory feelings concerning the role of the aged in the American family. All Indian students who had occasion to speak to this subject disapprovingly noted the comparatively inferior status of old people. As they recalled India, it seemed to them that:

> there is greater affection and love between father and son, because there they regard that it is the sacred duty of the father to look after his son during his infancy and it is the sacred duty of the son to look after their older parents.

By contrast:

> Here we find that people have greater individuality, and they will not like the fathers or grandfathers to live with them because that interferes with the development of individual personality.

There was very little disposition to dismiss this particular status pattern as one of those inevitable cultural differences which are likely to distinguish one nation from another. Characteristically, the student felt obliged to determine the causes of the relegation of the aged to an inferior status—it was seldom mentioned without accompanying analysis. Those students who were troubled by this question, but whose tact or approval of the United States forbade wholesale condemnation, struggled to explain it by appealing to the authority of some larger, more acceptable value, such as individual responsibility. More commonly, so fundamental a violation of what they consider to be a basic and universal ethical imperative implied deeper revelations about the spiritual basis of the entire social structure. The lack of respect for age sometimes confirmed latent suspicions that the student was observing a culture which was devoid of real ethical principles and which was dominated by a complete and all-embracing utilitarian complex.

Self-Gratification and Capriciousness

The supremacy of group values as a governing principle in Indian family life leads the Indian students to consider American emphasis on individual gratification and sexual compatibility to be misguided. They perceive in the American institutional pattern an acceptance of hedonistic pursuits unrestrained by the "higher ideals" which alone are capable of ennobling the marriage relationship.

Critical statements included not only disparagement of American family values but also the paradoxical assertion that even individual happiness is not so well achieved as by the Indian model, whose social arrangements provide personal satisfactions only as a peripheral by-product. So even though in India

> the marriage takes place before you are independent enough to think of selecting your own partner . . . I think I am very happy, and these marriages are generally happier than the marriages which are by choice of the partner.

Closely related to the contention that there were defects both in the dominant value system and in the familial institutional structure is a less clearly defined but apparently intense feeling that Americans as individuals have a common failing; namely, they lack the proper high moral seriousness in their approach to family life. The Indian students discerned an element of light-headed frivolity and capriciousness in courtship and family behavior. This view was sometimes expressed in the sternest moralistic terms as in "embracing and kissing and these things I take to be just the road for going into debauchery or the lack of morals." At other times it was contained in the assertion that the slightest irritation or weariness was apt to be accompanied by divorce in contrast with the Hindu practice where, in the higher castes, divorce is forbidden, and where in fact it is largely unnecessary, "because the girl who marries a boy is very much faithful to the boy. . . . She is always so much devoted to the husband and the husband to the wife." On still other occasions this feeling is implied in the discovery of such terms as "boy friend," which is not, as one might expect, "that one whom she would actually marry, but she would at any time drop him too . . . if she comes across a better or someone whom she likes later much more, she would drop." Or to summarize the complex more explicitly, "I mean, to me it is not bad at all to go with a girl, but the only thing is that I think to go you must be serious. It shouldn't be just one of those things."

The impression should not be conveyed that the Indian students perceive American family life as entirely uniform or that their reactions were wholly unfavorable. The "what were your first impressions" or "what struck you most" type of question which is inevitably present even in the most nondirective interviews tends to bias responses toward generalizations emphasizing perceived differences rather than toward those elements mutually present and approved in both cultures. The interviews indicate that the students are sometimes aware that although there may be customary patterns and practices which tend to distinguish the entire social structure, various social strata and groups in the United States exhibit pronounced differentials in their behavior. Thus there were some comments on the greater simplicity, refinement, and spirituality of family life in religious homes, especially among the Society of Friends. There was also some recognition of rural-urban and regional differences. Nevertheless, the differences were perceived as minor variations on a common pattern, and it was the common pattern which figured in comparisons with India.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Indian students are much more attentive to politics than are their American counterparts. The political intricacies of a long nationalist struggle made complex political ideas and parliamentary practices commonplace knowledge among Indians. The visiting students are thoroughly conversant with detailed political histories of a vast number of Indian political figures and recall as part of their shared experience years of highly emotional political involvement. The Indian student's image of American political processes is best understood against the background of the nationalist movements which have engaged the energies of Indians and other Asian peoples throughout this century. The logic which underlies nationalist movements demands that the aspirations of the struggle include more than the mere transfer of power and authority from a set of foreign functionaries to their native counterparts. Slogans of liberation included more than opposition to "imperialism" and "foreign oppressors." They also promised that with liberation would come redress of domestic inequities and grievances. Consequently the Indian intellectual tended to be identified both in foreign and domestic affairs with intense humanitarian sympathy. Except for the special interest groups such as the landlords and princes, there is now virtually no vocal conservative group in matters economic and political. Conservatism in India takes the form of urging the return to a pristine religious state. There is no significant segment among the Indian intelligentsia which feels the need to resolve the conflict between individual liberties and governmental planning implied in the term "creeping socialism." Among those who are politically effective the extreme rightist position is somewhat left of center in the normal liberal-conservative continuum.

It follows that as members of the intellectual class at home the Indian students in the United States tend to respond sympathetically to political movements which seem to be dedicated to the interests of the "masses" and the "common man." They perceive in terms of a symbolic vocabulary which makes generous use of slogans carrying strong emotional connotations in India. Their general approach is often supported by detailed knowledge. Nevertheless, the students are judging American political processes in terms of an abstract liberal ethic which is concrete and relevant in its reference to India, where political necessity at this stage of development demands emphasis upon nation building, uplift of the masses, social planning, and an educated electorate. It is in this context that the liberal-humanitarian standard applied to American political life should be understood.

AMERICAN POLITICS: WHAT THE STUDENTS SAID

The images described in the following sections are brief composite summaries of common sentiments revealed in student responses. Those sections outside of the quotation marks are paraphrases of statements in the interviews; those within quotes are the actual words of the students.

Interest Groups

Ideally the democratic process should give every individual equal access to power—the greater the diffusion of power in a society the more nearly does it approach the democratic model. The United States deviates considerably from this ideal because there is "control by a party, rather than an individual and when it comes to elections you have to please every boss. It is not exactly on principles." The existence of lobbies accentuates the concentration of power because legislative bodies are sensitive to the wishes of small groups which do not represent the wishes of the people as a whole. The small groups with the greatest influence are likely to be "financially strong interests" because they "can organize themselves better."

The one restraining influence on irresponsibly wielded power is the recognition on the part of the bosses and lobbyists that ultimate veto power resides in the people, whose dormant disaffections may occasionally be translated into effective political protests against the more cynical practices. This consideration requires a continuous assessment of the limits of public patience and some concessions to the popular will. However, such restraint should not obscure the fact that the American political structure is characterized by dominant power groups whose existence "is not consonant with the spirit of democracy."

Mass Communications in Politics

On the whole the American people are reasonably well informed on current affairs because they have ready access to information media such as the press, radio, and television. On the other hand, news is presented in a provincial and superficial manner, overemphasizing trivia and matters of local interest. Moreover, the media of mass communication are concentrated in the hands of the "wealthy section," who control public opinion for the benefit of right-wing political elements. As a result the universal literacy of Americans is not always a guarantee of a high level of information or of a considerable degree of political sophistication. The American is especially untutored in foreign affairs, and his ignorance of India is "no less than colossal."

Political Parties

It is frequently difficult to discern the differences "between the so-called Democrats and the so-called Republicans." They do not disagree on fundamentals, and there are men in each party who seem ideologically more appropriate to the other. However, the Democrats more nearly "symbolize the close identity with the great mass of people, with the laboring class, with the farmers, with the Negroes. . . . It symbolizes more a party for the common man than the Republican party." Likewise in the sphere of foreign policy the party of Roosevelt and Truman can be expected to be more ungrudgingly internationalist in outlook than the Republicans. The Republican party by contrast tends to be dominated by the wealthy and the powerful, who have an excessive allegiance to anachronistic conceptions of laissez-faire capitalism. If they pursued their own inclinations, they would transform government into a subsidiary of "big business." The selection of candidates in the presidential election of 1952 was indicative of Republican-Democratic party orientations. It is unfortunate for the United States that Mr. Stevenson did not become the President, for his administration would have been more humanitarian and more germane to twentieth-century realities than Mr. Eisenhower's.

Political Atmosphere of the United States

The predominant fact of current American political life is an excessive fear of Communism.

> I mean, the fear of Communism, it is a sort of craze . . . I mean sort of hysteria in this country, and actually, as a matter of fact, I didn't think that this American society is being threatened by Communism. Communism can never ruin this society I mean for many years to come.

Obsessive anti-Communism has unfortunate social consequences because in its name even gradualistic social changes are assailed. While the implementation of welfare measures under government aegis may depart from traditional capitalist practice, "a certain degree of socialism is healthy," or at least inevitable. However, capitalism as it exists in the United States modified by the New Deal philosophy is basically healthy and has produced "economic wonders." American capitalism is by no means decad[illegible] nor has it reached "maturity." In view of the essential soundness of the American socioeconomic structure there are no compelling domestic reasons to justify the prevalent anti-Communist preoccupation in the United States.

In foreign affairs there should be no fear of direct Communist military aggression against the United States. Moreover, Communism is making fewer inroads in other nations than Americans suppose. In India, only a very small percentage of the population is cordial to Soviet doctrine. Hence the existence of "anti-Communist hysteria" may best be interpreted as an opportunistic attempt to find a scapegoat, "something like Hitler or Pakistan," and as a capitulation to the most irresponsible elements in American politics.

The chief victims of the current political climate are "liberals." When even General Marshall is publicly maligned it is obvious that less influential men will be reluctant to engage in free discussion of controversial social issues. Militant anti-Communism constitutes as great a threat to democracy as do the few adherents of the Communist party.

> I oppose Communism because it represents fear, curtailment of political freedom, and so on. I cannot see any difference between McCarthyism and Communism in this respect. It is, however, encouraging to see that some of the greatest intellectuals and biggest newspapers are rallying against McCarthy.

RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA

The area of white-Negro relations tends to elicit images which once again seem to lie within the anticipated and familiar context of the liberal-humanitarian orientation. However, this element of the liberal syndrome differs from other expressions of humanitarian good will and outrage in the degree of intensity with which it is held, in the extent of the personal involvement which it entails, and in the fullness of the preconceptions about this area prior to the arrival of the students in the United States.

Most Indian students were not conspicuously well read on American life upon arrival, yet a surprising number of them were conversant with Myrdal's multivolumed *American Dilemma,* were shocked by its contents, and were sympathetic to its thesis. Several revealed detailed knowledge of the legal niceties connected with the approaching Supreme Court ruling on educational segregation in the South, while one or two knew of isolated cases of racial violence in several small American communities.

Personal Experiences of Discrimination

Much of the intensity of interest and feeling concerning the role of the Negro in the United States is in part a result of the latent and sometimes overt color tension which lay beneath the surface of British-Indian relations prior to Indian independence and which still exists between Western and Asian nations. A more immediate explanation lies in the fact that of all the values incorporated in the American social structure, the existence of discriminatory practices based on color was most capable of jeopardizing the status of the Indian students during their stay in the United States. Color was a potential disqualifying factor in the acquisition of desirable housing arrangements, in comfortable tourist mobility, and in the accessibility of desired social contacts.

There were in point of fact a number of instances in which students experienced situations in which they reported personal inconvenience and embarrassment. One student was advised by a friend not to visit a New York nightclub because he might not be served. Another was served with a separate set of utensils at a restaurant. Still another sensed that he was giving offense when he "danced with a white girl." Such incidents did not occur frequently but they were constant reminders of the possibility of recurrent humiliations.

It is not surprising that certain individuals departed from an otherwise balanced approach to America to display a color sensitivity and a distortion of experience almost pathological in nature. To cite one of many examples: a student who was not selected to accompany a tour to Hyde Park sponsored by his orientation center gave this account of the incident:

> There was a competition between a number of candidates for going to Hyde Park and there was a limited number of tickets. I went to the place from which we were to leave for Hyde Park right on time, I think before the time, but I was not selected for being taken. I don't know what criterion was adopted and, rightly or wrongly, it led me to the feeling that it might have been prejudice against the colored people since they are not taking me and they are taking people from other lands.

However, the greater number of the Indian students never experienced any manifestations of real or fancied discrimination because much of their time was spent in the company of fellow nationals, American students, and Americans especially sympathetic to foreign students. This circumstance may contribute to the fact that for the most part the Indian students' perception of race relations in the United States lacks anecdotal substance and is generally vague and symbolic. The students are seldom indignant about general economic deprivation, poor housing, and dirty neighborhoods; they reserve their most bitter remarks for "the white man's complex," "social discrimination," "white chauvinism"—all presumably artificial barriers to social intercourse unworthy of the American creed.

Race and Caste

One may suspect that the existence of the alleged "white superiority complex" provides some sense of gratification for the Indian students. The recognition of what seemed to them an indisputable vulnerability in the American ethic seemed to mitigate criticisms of practices in India. If American treatment of the Negro is so conspicuously poor, then it must follow that India, faced with problems of greater proportions, should not be condemned for her failure to solve them.

> They follow your dress. They follow your manner. I mean they are not much different. They may be inferior mentally in some cases, but they are not given an equal chance. So I said naturally you must take less time to wipe off the differences; whereas we must take relatively more time to do away with the caste system. But we are progressing better than you have progressed.

Whatever the merits of this line of reasoning it appears clear that from the perspective of the Indian student an America which countenances differential treatment of the Negro must forfeit much of its claim to the moral superiority which should characterize the most powerful leader of the democratic West.

THE SENSITIVE AREA COMPLEX

It is difficult to determine the extent to which perceptions of major but segmental aspects of American life contribute to the development of an overall "favorable" or "unfavorable" attitude toward the United States. Elsewhere[2] we have advanced the thesis that visitors from low-status countries develop their attitudes towards the United States not so much on the basis of their reactions to American life, but rather as an end product of a "looking-glass" process based on their perception of the American image of their home countries. The process of temporary international migration characteristically impels the visitor to reappraise his own culture appreciatively and is usually marked by a heightened identification with his own country and an increased sensitivity to its status. Very early in his visit the Indian student perceives an American image of India which contains elements appearing to him to imply low status for his home country and by extension for him. Americans, in talking with him about India, allude to certain specific subjects (such as caste, untouchables, population expansion) which are associated with colonial status and reactive nationalism and thus have become "sensitive." The mere mention of these subjects even in a neutral or favorable context will cause the visitor to feel that Americans are hostile to India, a condition which will in turn predispose him to a general negative view of the United States.

If confirmed by subsequent research, the implication of this thesis is that so long as Indian students and visitors from other "low-status" countries correctly or incorrectly perceive that Americans hold an unfavorable image of their home countries, even extravagantly favorable assessments of American life will be largely irrelevant to the formation of "friendly" attitudes toward the United States. Therefore, our foreign policy and public pronouncements with respect to countries recently emerged from colonial status must carefully avoid these emotion-laden areas of cultural conflict.

For amity, contact is not enough, especially if protracted contact serves only to accumulate a series of assaults on the self-esteem of nationals of low-status countries. Among other things, friendliness is a function of both personal and cultural security, and only after the viewer has a minimal feeling of security can the hostile elements of an image surrender to a more objective assessment.

NOTES

Note: The project described herein is part of a program sponsored by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council and supported by grants to the Council from the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

1. The images of American educational practices will be treated fully in a forthcoming article by the authors in the *Journal of Higher Education.**

2. Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, "The Sensitive Area Complex: A Contribution to the Theory of Guided Culture Contact," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Fall, 1954.

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* See chapter 27 of this volume.